

H.M. DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

DEPT.
or POST**MIDDLE EAST**FILE No. **NBR 1/4** (Part)TITLE: **POLITICAL SITUATION**
IN IRAQ**W 412**

REFER TO

REFER TO

REFER TO

NAME (and dept. when necessary)	TO SEE:	DATE	NAME (and dept. when necessary)	TO SEE:	DATE	NAME (and dept. when necessary)	TO SEE:	DATE
Registry		22	R		18/3	GSB	26	8/XI
GSB	243	1/2	GSB	8	19/3	R		14/XI
R		8/2	Reg		22/3	GSB	28/29	29/4
GSB	3		GSB	9	22/3	R		27/XI
Reg		15/2	R		3/7	GSB	31	27/11
GSB	4	17/2	GSB	11	23/10	R		28/XI
4 BU @	5	"	R		12/8	GSB	32	28/11
R		21/2	GSB	14	12/8	R		4/XI
PKW	5	21/2	R		18/9	GSB	29	4/12
Mr Clarke	⑤	26/1	GSB	15	18/9	R		16/XI
Mr. Wright.	⑤	26/2	R		21.X	GSB	35	16/12
Reg		28/2	GSB	17	21.X	R		6/1/75
PKW	5		R		23.X	GSB	38/39	13/1
Reg		4/3	GSB	20	24.X	R	40	
Mr Burton	6	5/3	R		24.X			
AF 3 R (to clarify file 3 mean)			PKW	22	29/X			
GSB	7	8/3	R		4/11			
R		14/3	GSB	23,24, & 25	6/11			
GSB	file	18/1	R		2/11			

Registry Address

Room No. **W 92**

Downing Street (W)

YEAR STAMP

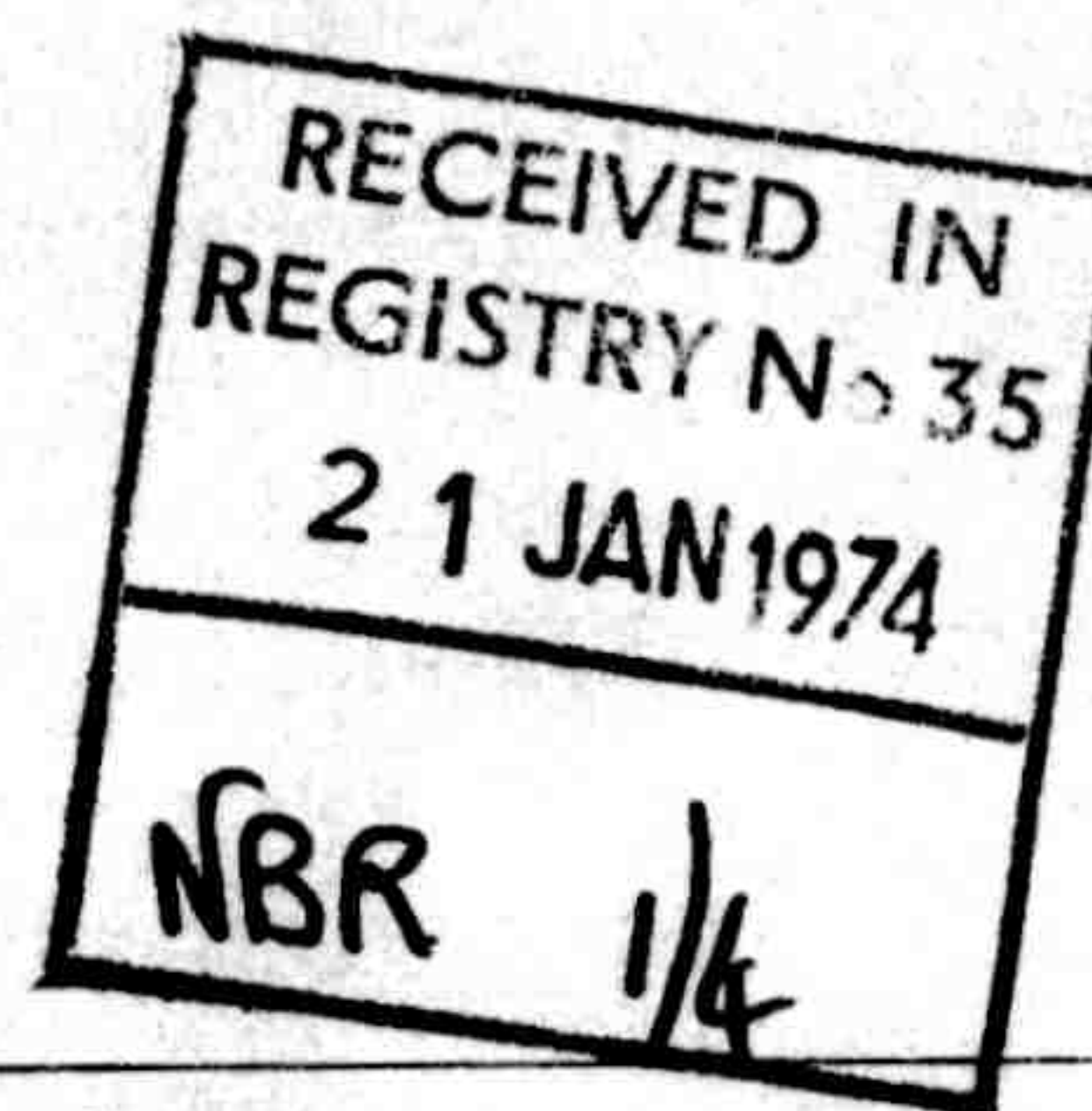
107YEAR
STAMPDO NOT RETAIN FILES AND PAPERS UNNECESSARILY
RETURN THEM TO REGISTRY FOR B.U. OR P.A.

PART

R 1/4S
N
U

ROYAL SWEDISH EMBASSY

British Interests Section
BAGHDAD



Your reference

Our reference 1/1

Date 15 January 1974.

G.S. Burton Esq.,
Middle East Department,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office,
London.

Dear Graham,

GB 1/1
1/4

Iraq: Raising the standard of living

Saddam Hussein, in the published account of a meeting on 6 January, spelt out two principles for raising the standard of living in Iraq and increasing the purchasing power of the general public.

2. He said that

"First - any increase in the purchasing power must be within the scope of a comprehensive understanding of the countries economic and financial conditions, and inflation must be avoided. Extraordinary price rises cause more harm than good to the national economy and the general public. Account should be taken of the indirect effects of increased investment in development, on the purchasing power of the public." Secondly, he explained that 'increases in purchasing power must be just, and in accordance with the objectives of the Baath Party and the principles of socialist revolution. These principles dictate a rise in living standards, particularly among the low-income groups'.

3. At the meeting proposals were made to bring unemployed college graduates into state service.

4. With the oil income Iraq hopes for this year (US \$5000m is mooted) people are optimistic that their standards of living will be raised. There is no doubt that the government firmly intend to spend their money as quickly as possible and Saddam Husseins remarks are intended as a warning against what may happen if handouts are uncontrolled.

Yours ever,
la

I. McCluney

CONFIDENTIAL

CYPHER CAT A
GRPS 80
FM BAGHDAD 250630Z

RECEIVED IN
REGISTRY No 35
28 JAN 1974
NBR 1/4

TOP COPY

CONFIDENTIAL

TO ROUTINE FCO TEL NO 27 OF 25 JANUARY. 1974

2/1/80
ja

PRESIDENT BAKRS HEALTH. *MAY.*

AS REPORTED IN MY TEL 21. DR BAKIR IS IN LONDON TO OBTAIN MEDICAL HELP FOR PRES BAKR. I DON'T KNOW IF HE HAS YET RETURNED.

2. A COLLEAGUE WHO SAW BAKR YESTERDAY SAYS HE IS WEAK AND SPEAKING IF AT ALL IN A HIGH PITCHED VOICE.

HIS FACE IS BLOTCHY WITH A LARGE BROWN PATCH ON THE FOREHEAD.

3. GHADANS FAILURE TO TRAVEL TO UK MAY BE DUE TO BAKRS WEAK HEALTH.

MCCLUNEY

FILES
MED
MVD
IRD
PUSD
MR LEQUESNE
MR WEIR

CONFIDENTIAL

Enter NBR 1/4

ROYAL SWEDISH EMBASSY

British Interests Section

BAGHDAD

(3)

Mr Williams to see 18 January 1974

Mr Burton again 18/12
for 1 week 18/12 19/12 20/12 21/12 22/12 23/12 24/12 25/12 26/12 27/12 28/12 29/12 30/12 31/12

Dear Graham,

There are a number of unrelated titbits, hares and staws that it might be worth setting down though they do not make much of a coherent whole at the moment.

Russia - the Norikov visit seems to have been a failure. He came for a week and stayed only four days, and very little publicity was given to his talks. Two subjects may have been discussed a) lack of progress on projects and b) oil. The Finnish charge suggests that Russia wished marketing rights for Wags oil in Eastern Europe, and Wags refused.

Japan - The \$1,000m loan "agreed minute" was signed at the Japanese Embassy early on 17 Jan. I was fortunate to be invited that evening for supper as Nakasone had just come from London. It was a strange party - 50 Japanese, 20 Wags, the Iranian Charge and myself. The central Wagi figures were Hikmat al Azzawi, Taha al Sazrawi, Obeidi, Usey Min of Economy, and Dr Chelabi. I exchanged a few words with the latter, but the others had nothing to say to ~~me~~ me. The Wags and Japanese did not mix at all (there is no real language problem as most speak English)

Italy - By contrast Italian Wagi officials and Western diplomats mixed freely at the supper for Dr Cesare Bersi of the Italian Foreign Ministry on 17 Jan. This was of course an MFA party rather than Ministry of Economy, and they are anyway a smoother lot. Undersecretary Tamali was thoughtful enough to thank me personally for Dr Baker's visa, and I had an opportunity to talk to Ghaitan Mahmud Kemiz Director of Western Affairs in the Political Department. He made a special point of saying that Wags was grateful for Britain's attitude at the Heads of Govt Mtg on 14 Nov last year. They hoped Britain would continue to act in this way. I was unsure what awkwardness might attach to this remark - so countered simply by

asking him whether they were kept well informed a European matter.

UK - Relations - The French Ambassador has told me that he did as best he could and the reply, with which he says London were more than happy, was that an initiative by us would not be rejected. It is of course galling to see the French, Japs, Italians, even Americans (Alon Rizat) being received when we are left out. (Still no reaction a Lord Dorman I'm afraid, but we keep asking) The pain will come when we must do something. Could we press Ghaidan to return for his medical treatment perhaps? - I could do that here - saying he would be welcome. Or if the Shell-Europe initiative gets moving - could that provide some opportunity for a high level contact or relations? Incidentally I hope it is moving - we have seen precious little sign of negotiations or that or naturalisation for some time.

Visas - The song is always the same. Director Technical Assistance Dept MFA said to me "You are making a lot of people very unhappy with your visa policy" Medical cases, for example, where we allow the sick to travel but refer in the normal way applications from companions. Regular travellers, businessmen, all anxious to get out and spend the newfound wealth, are notoriously bad organisers and apply for their visas very late. We do try to pacify them all, and explain ad infinitum that our delay in issuing visas is as brief as we can make it - but the pressure is continuous and, we all feel, increasing.

Swedes - Ambassador Rathman is apparently totally unconcerned and content with the way the section is running. His policy seems to be that we have proved in the past that we can manage not to embarrass the Swedes by what we do, and he is content to let us alone while this continues. Perhaps he also feels - for he is a kindly man, that if we could work to German standards then we are bound to meet his own!

Dutch - The Charge has apparently told his European colleagues (but not me) that Saddam Hussein's brother-in-law called to say that Holland had suffered enough and would they like 2.6 m. tons this year!!

European Group - They still ask from time to time if we would reconsider our position & join the meetings. The Belgian says the Italian is always running down Britain behind my back. What a lot of gossiping women they are!

I shall be visiting Kuwait on Feb 11 or thereabouts if there is anything you would like me to read.

Meanwhile best wishes to you & Peter - we are all well & happy.

Yours ever

la.

CONFIDENTIAL

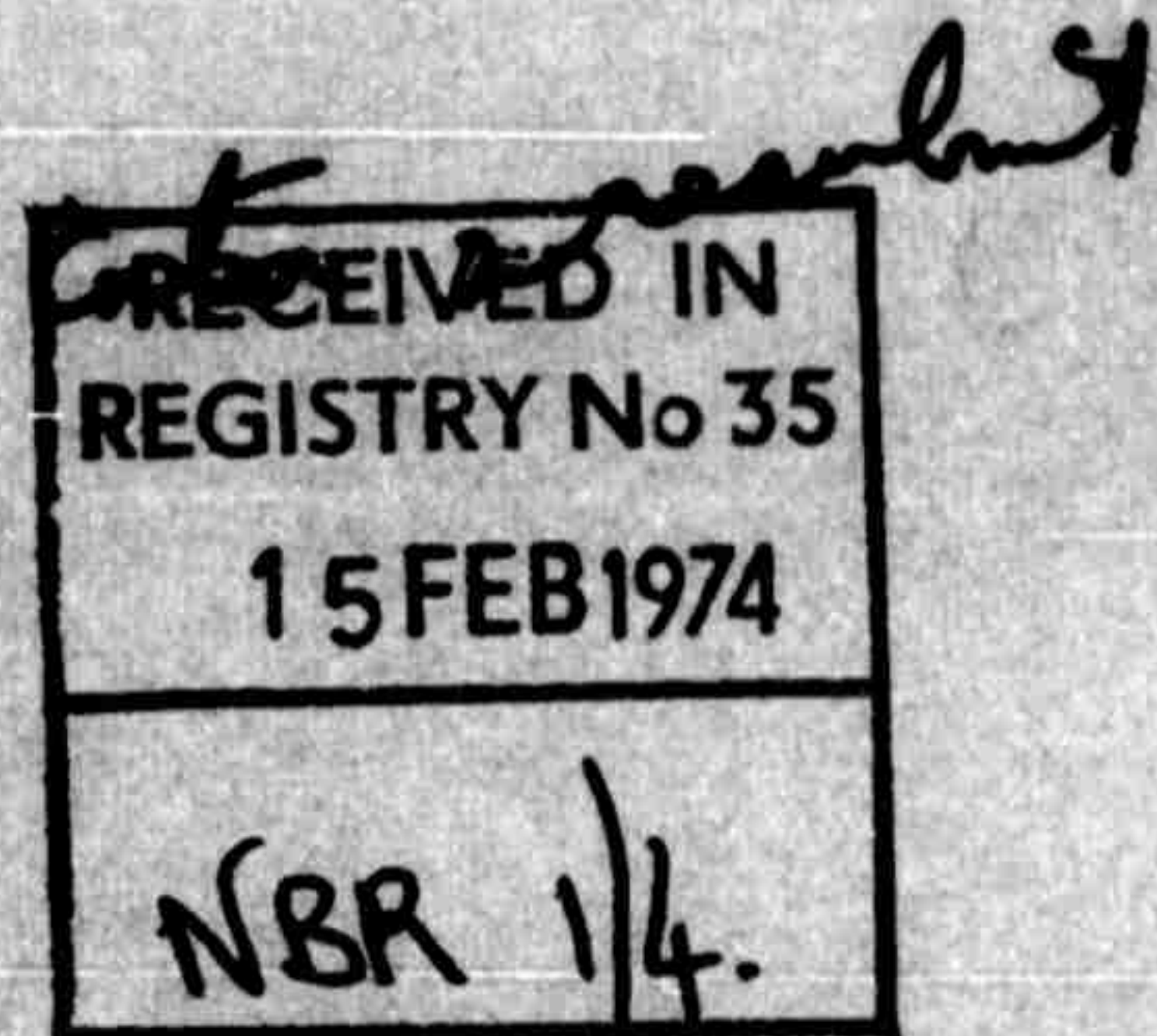


BRITISH EMBASSY

KUWAIT

12 February 1974

G S Burton Esq
Middle East Department
FCO



Dear Graham,

PRESIDENT BAKR'S ILLNESS

1. The President has not been cutting down noticeably on his official engagements in recent weeks. His picture appears regularly in the papers.
2. However, I understand he has been seen by two British doctors who arrived in Baghdad at the beginning of February for a few days. Their names were passed to me through the British Council representative as Dr Harley (a surgeon) and Dr Dawson (a physician). The President's complaint is said to be diverticulosis, a stomach condition which does not seem very serious. (He has been advised to eat All-bran!)
3. Perhaps it may be possible for you to obtain more information from the doctors themselves, if you can track them down.

Yours ever

IC

I McCluney

The British Council have undertaken to sound out the doctors if and when a suitable opportunity arises

MB 17/2

CONFIDENTIAL

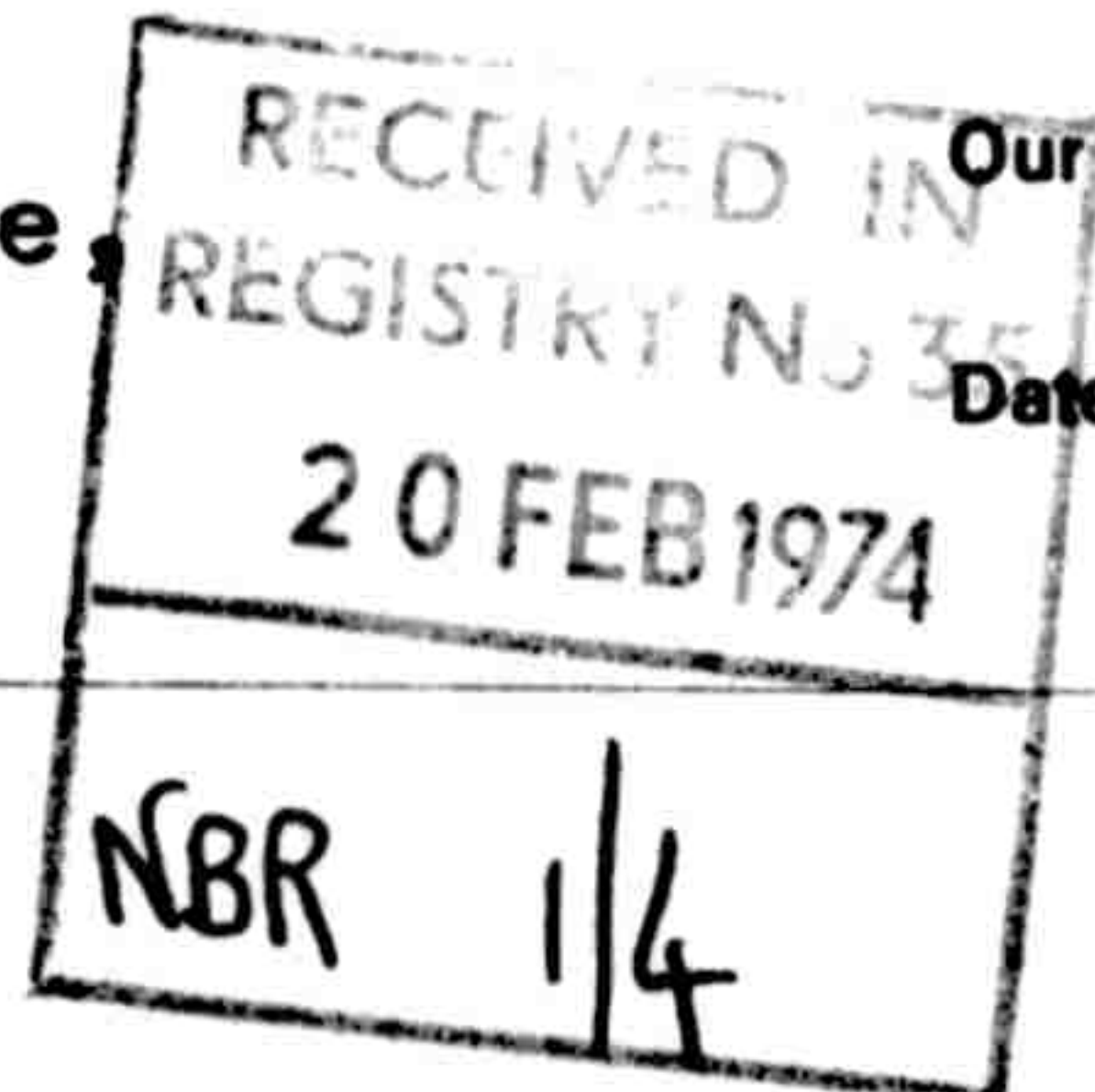
ROYAL SWEDISH EMBASSY

British Interests Section
BAGHDAD

Abdul Baqi looks for a laugh. He told us
on 25 February that his wife was primarily
concerned with his wife's health, but that he was
also undergoing a "check-up".

PERSONAL

G S Burton Esq.,
Middle East Department,
Foreign & Commonwealth Office,
London.



Your reference

Our reference 1/1

16 February 1974

Enter
Mr W. [unclear]
Mr [unclear]
Mr [unclear]
[unclear] 20/2

Dear Graham,

Here is a wind up of a few odd points from Baghdad under the
familiar headings.

2. Economic - The COMET mission has been reluctantly accepted
as unofficial, but we have a good flow of British businessmen. The
Italians, Japanese, French and even Germans seem to have been and
gone, and there will be a general comment that we are arriving
rather late. (This was indeed said to the Italians - "You are late,
but welcome").

3. Eastern Bloc - Although the Hungarians have been meeting the
Iraqis to sign up a technical co-operation agreement for the next
year, the broad front of communist activity has been quiet. Rumours
abound that the departed Soviet Ambassador Lichachev was either
thrown out or withdrawn. The initiative seems to be out of Eastern
Bloc hands for the moment.

Out of date
now!
[unclear]
4. Diplomatic Relations - The treatment of COMET makes one think
there is nothing new in the offing. Saadoun Ghaidan will probably
not go to UK after all, as Dr. Gibson is due to come to Iraq shortly
and will treat him here.

5. Political/Internal - General rejoicing at salary rises and
price cuts. (The archivists wife was narrowly missed by a celebration
bullet while bringing in her washing from the roof). If the cost of
living can be controlled by subsidies to utilities (gas, electricity
etc.) and control of basic food prices, the salary rises to civil
service and army will reduce risk of discontent. A Belgian priest
here who I know well, and has spent seven years in Iraq, is convinced
that there is a genuine desire on the part of the Baath to stamp out
corruption and improve living standards. Travelling in a taxi recently,
the over charging of one non-Baath occupant was challenged by party
members in the car, and the accused driver was forced to charge the
correct fare. Action to punish hoarding and artificial price escal-
ation is promised in Al Thawra.

6. Military - Rumours of a shake up following failures during the
war. John Sanders has had a strange interview with a staff officer
who explained at length that Iraq wanted British help in the Army but
we must be patient with their unwieldy beaurocratic machine. We have
no reports here that Iraqi troops have returned to Syria.

RESTRICTED



7. Ministerial Changes - Since the speculation after the Regional Baath Party elections there has been no change. Abdul Baqi is as fit as a fiddle. Is he thinking of retiring to Britain with his visa, or is he our new Iraqi Ambassador? His firm plans to travel become quick silver in our hands at the time of writing.

Yours ever

lan.

I. McCluney

RESTRICTED

CONFIDENTIAL

(6)

ROYAL SWEDISH EMBASSY
British Interests Section
BAGHDAD

*Copied: Cabinet Office
Mr. Clark
Mr. Wright*

N. Burton

*The French comments on internal stability
and Soviet influence are interesting*

28/2

G S Burton Esq.,
Middle East Department,
Foreign & Commonwealth Office,
London.

RECEIVED IN
REGISTRY No 35
Date -1 MAR 1974
NBR 1/4

Mr Graham,
IRAQ - INTERNAL

During the visit of the Comet Mission I was able to take Sir Richard Beaumont to call on one or two diplomatic colleagues. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs showed no interest in the visit of Sir Richard or indeed the Mission as a whole, and no contacts have been made over the resumption of diplomatic relations.

2. We first called on Pierre Cerle, Ambassador of France, who also gave Sir Richard lunch. Cerle talked of the key position, as he saw it, of Iraq in the Arab world. Alone of the Arab countries it had the oil, and the infrastructure with which to develop its natural resources. The long history of civilisation in Iraq gave them a proud, almost arrogant, independence. But this could stabilise the country as their economy improved. Cerle laid stress on the strategic position of Iraq. They had access to the Gulf and were improving their trade access to the Mediterranean. One of the reasons for Russian interest here was this access to the Gulf and the Indian Ocean. The Russians also wished to ensure that they maintained a balance between Iraq and Iran in their relations with both. Their influence here was certainly waning at the present time.

3. As to the stability of the present Government, Saddam Hussein seemed firmly in the saddle. As a result of the regional Baath Party elections in January he had been able to surround himself with his lieutenants. The only military man figuring in the Baath Party elections had been the President himself. Talking about Sd Abdul Baqi, the Foreign Minister, Cerle was unsure whether Abdul Baqi was really ill, but certainly his wife was seriously ill with cancer.

/4.....

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL



2.

4. Sir Richard and I also had lunch with the Ambassador of Egypt, Abdul Moneim al Najjar. The conversation followed broadly the lines of my telegram 3 of 2 January. Najjar felt we must be patient with the Iraqis; we must not be too timid in advising them how to proceed. He also thought Saddam Husseins position was secure and that increasing affluence would contribute the stability of Iraq.

5. The Comet Mission generally has been received, as we expected, at Head of Department or Under-Secretary level in the State Organisations and smaller Ministries. We have been unable to get them in to see any Ministers. However they have a good picture of how things work in Iraq, and there is some enthusiasm for future prospects. I hope their report will provide a useful background for British businessmen, though they may tend to look for easier pickings elsewhere.

Yours ever,

Ian

I. McCluney

B. Ref Para 5 COMET have just been called to a last minute meeting at Ministry of Economy. Perhaps this is a turning point.

CONFIDENTIAL

RESTRICTED

7.

ROYAL SWEDISH EMBASSY
British Interests Section
BAGHDAD

RECEIVED IN REGISTRY No 35 = 7 MAR 1974 NBR 1/4.

G S Burton Esq.,
Middle East Department,
Foreign & Commonwealth Office,
London.

Your reference

Our reference 2/2

Date 2nd March 1974

Bo Graham
HABBASH IN BAGHDAD

Copy NENAD
PRK 1/2
Enter 8/6/3
pa

The talks between PLFP leader George Habbash and a Baath Party team headed by Shibly al Aysami resulted in a long communique (enclosed). This does not appear to me to add anything new to Iraqs attitude, but analysis in Beirut may be more incisive.

2. There was no sign during Habbash's visit that he was received at a particularly high level or given unusual honours. When he left Baghdad only the head of the ABSP Armed Struggle office was at the airport.

Yours ever
la

I. McCluney

c.c. Chancery Beirut

RESTRICTED

Escalation of struggle only alternative

Two-party declaration warns against conspiracy to abort Palestine resistance movement

The Arab Baath Socialist Party and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) expressed a joint conviction that the only historic alternative for the Arab masses is to carry on and escalate anti-imperialist, anti-Zionist and anti-reactionary struggle for economic, political and social progress all over the Arab homeland.

In a joint communique released in Baghdad yesterday evening at the conclusion of a visit to Iraq by a delegation representing the PFLP, led by Dr. George Habash, at the invitation of the ABSP National Leadership, the two parties stressed that the schemings and proposals put forth in connection with the Palestine question constituted a conspiracy to abort the Palestine resistance movement and eliminate its effectiveness, especially after it had become a serious threat to the imperialist, Zionist and reactionary interests in the Arab area.

Following is the full text of the joint communique.

"At the invitation of the ABSP National Leadership a PFLP delegation led by Dr. George Habash paid a visit to Iraq during the period 16-27 February 1974.

"During the period, the delegation visited Comrade Shibly al-Aysami, Assistant Secretary General of the ABSP at his office at the National Leadership premises. The delegation also paid a visit to Comrade Ahmad Hassan al-Bakr, Regional Leadership Secretary at the Republican Palace. Comrades Aysami and Bakr reassured the delegation of Iraq's continued support under the leadership of the ABSP, in line with the Party's principles vis-a-vis the Palestine question in particular and the Arab liberation issue in general.

only historical alternative for the Arab masses was to carry on and escalate struggle against imperialism, Zionism and reaction, with a view to achieving economic, political and social liberation all over the Arab homeland.

"The two parties confirmed that the schemings and proposals put forth regarding the Palestine question, whatever names they might assume and whatever parties they might have resulted from, constituted a conspiracy aimed at aborting and liquidating the Palestine resistance movement which had started to pose a tangible threat to the imperialist interests in the Arab homeland, to the imperialist-Zionist base in occupied Palestine and to the local reactionary governments and interests. Therefore, the only criterion according to which the policies adopted in the course of Arab struggle against the enemies and for unity and liberation from imperialism, Zionism and reaction, should be relentless struggle for the mobilisation of every success achieved by the masses for intensifying the triumphant procession of the Arab nation until the full attainment of her human objectives.

"The two parties condemned the submissive policies which yearned for the liquidatory settlement through the mediation of those who adopted anti-Arab attitudes. The two parties consider such policies as involving an under estimation of the glorious militant history of the Arab masses and the triumphant struggle of the Palestinian people. For long years, the Arab masses proved to be capable of defeating imperialism and wresting victory in the Arab Maghreb, the Nile valley and the Arab east. The Arab nation has displayed a high-level efficiency in retaliating the imperialist-Zionist aggression during the October war which was interrupted by the imperialist-reactionary conspiracies lest it should develop into a national liberation war.

"The two parties condemned the demagogic attempts to misrepresent the Arab energies by considering the heroic feats of Arab armed forces and sacrifices of the Arab masses during the October war

as a mere success in a casual examination. The heroism and sacrifices displayed by the Arab nation are closely connected with our legitimate issues and are bound to continue in the course of our struggle until our full objectives are attained.

"The two parties also reviewed the imperialist conspiracies in the Arab Gulf area and the role undertaken by the Iranian reactionary forces in that connection to encroach upon the progressive government of Iraq. The two parties considered the conspiracy as a part of the comprehensive imperialist scheming against the Arab liberation movement, and consequently the obligation of confronting it assumes a national significance requiring the mobilisation of all Arab potentialities.

The two parties also condemned the Iranian military interference in Oman and stressed the necessity of exposing its aggressive objectives which involved considerable prospective dangers should it go uncurbed.

"The two parties highlighted the significance of the militant unity of the Arab masses and Arab progressive forces and confirmed especially in the current phase, the necessity of watching out all attempts aimed at disrupting the Palestine resistance movement by misleading some of its forces into involvement in submissive schemes and into national conspiracies mainly based on the dedication of the racist Zionist entity in occupied Palestine. The two parties evaluated the historic responsibility of the resistance movement to avoid all that might transform it into a curtain behind which submissive compromises might be concealed, for such attempts were mainly aimed at liquidating the resistance movement after dedicating the Zionist entity.

The two parties stressed the necessity that the Arab liberation forces continue to cement and develop their relations with the liberation forces of the world, because the task of eliminating imperialism, Zionism, racism and neo-colonialism is a common obligation of all the oppressed peoples and forces of liberation and progress the world over."

"In a comradely atmosphere overwhelmed by full straightforwardness, talks were held between an AIBSP delegation led by Comrade Ali Ghannam, National Leadership member & PFLP delegation led by Comrade Dr. George Hubash the Front's Secretary General.

"The two delegations reviewed the political situation under the current critical phase of the Arab Palestine people's life in particular and the Arab nation in general, in consequence of the imperialist-Zionist-reactionary conspiring against Arab liberation and progress, which aimed at aborting Arab development by means of dedicating the Zionist colonial occupiers of Palestine and reactionary reactionary and renegade forces in the Arab area.

"The two parties expressed concrete conviction that the

ROYAL SWEDISH EMBASSY

British Interests Section
BAGHDAD



G S Burton Esq.,
Middle East Department,
Foreign & Commonwealth Office,
London SW1.

Your reference

Our reference 1/1

Date 10th March 1974

John Gahan,

THE BAATH MEET BRITISH COMMUNISTS

*Enter
18/3
10*

It may have escaped the attention of those who are furiously looking under their beds for unexpected guests that the Secretary of Iraqs National Progressive Front Comrade Naim Haddad took in the British Communist Party as one of their ports of call during a recent tour of Europe.

2. Naim Haddad has been a Baath Party worker in the RCC headquarters for some years and became Secretary of the National Front last September. This return trip follows a visit of the British Communist Party to Iraq in 1973.

3. A translation of the report in the Communist paper Tariq As Sha'ab is enclosed. The group obtained visas without difficulty after the normal waiting period of ten days. There was no special pressure to grant visas quickly, although the group were the subject of the usual MFA note.

Yours ever

la

I. McCluney

ENCS.

RESTRICTED

(9.)

ROYAL SWEDISH EMBASSY
British Interests Section
BAGHDAD

RECEIVED IN
REGISTRY No 35

22 MAR 1974

NBR 114

Your reference

G S Burton Esq.,
Middle East Department,
Foreign & Commonwealth Office,
London SW1.

Our reference

Date

16 March 1974

Dear Graham,

POLITICAL ACTIVITY IN IRAQ

Copy: Wg Cdr Davies - Cabinet Office
Mr Wilkins 22/3
480 22/3
1a

I enclose a translation of RCC Decision 176 of 2 March 1974. If this authority is used it appears to provide a way of effectively outlawing any group which is not part of the National Front. It could even be stretched to cover the Kurdish Democratic Party who have not taken their allocated part in the activities of the Front.

Yours ever

lan

I. McCluney

RESTRICTED

Decision No. 176.

In pursuance of the provisions of paragraph (a) of Article 42 of the Interim Constitution, the Revolutionary Command Council decided, as its meeting held on 24 February 1974, as follows :-

1. Any organised or political activity not permitted by law or outside the scope of activity of the Progressive National Front shall be considered as sabotage against the security of the State.
2. The competent Ministers are charged with the execution of this decision.

(Sgd) Ahmad Hasan al Bakr,
President,
Revolutionary Command Council.

EN CLAIR

FM BAGHDAD 220640Z APR.

UNCLASSIFIED

TO ROUTINE FCO TEL NO 134 OF 22 APRIL 1974.

APPOINTMENT OF VICE PRESIDENT.

1. FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF NEWS ITEM UNDER ABOVE HEADLINE
PUBLISHED IN TODAY'S BAGHDAD OBSERVER :-

A REPUBLICAN DECREE WAS ISSUED YESTERDAY APPOINTING
SD. TAHA MUHYIDDIN MA'ROUF AS VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE
REPUBLIC.

IN THE PRESENCE OF PRESIDENT AHMED HASSAN AL-BAKR,
SD. TAHA MUHYIDVN MA'ROUF, VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC
WAS SWORN IN YESTERDAY NOON AT THE REPUBLICAN PALACE.

PRESENT AT THE CEREMONY WAS SD. YEHYA YASSIN, HEAD OF
THE DIWAN OF THE PRESIDENCY OF THE REPUBLIC.

SD. TAHA MUHYIDDIN MA'ROUF WAS BORN IN SULAIMANIYAH
IN 1924 WHERE HE COMPLETED HIS PRIMARY, INTERMEDIATE
AND SECONDARY EDUCATION.

IN 1945, HE WAS AMONG THE FOUNDERS OF THE KURDISTAN
DEMOCRATIC PARTY AND WAS ELECTED TO THE MEMBERSHIP OF THE KDP
CENTRAL COMMITTEE AND POLITICAL BUREAU UNTIL 1949.

HE GRADUATED FROM THE COLLEGE OF LAW IN 1948 AND WORKED
AS A LAWYER BEFORE HE JOINED THE DIPLOMATIC STAFF. HE HELD
SEVERAL DIPLOMATIC POSITIONS IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES, THE LAST
OF WHICH WAS CHARGE D'AFFAIRES AT THE RANK OF MINISTER
PLENIPOTENTIARY PRIOR TO HOLDING A CABINET PORTFOLIO
FOLLOWING JULY 17 REVOLUTION.

HE WAS APPOINTED MINISTER OF STATE. THEN HE HELD THE
PORTFOLIO OF MINISTER OF WORKS AND HOUSING IN THE CABINET
FORMED BY PRESIDENT AHMED HASSAN AL-BAKR ON JULY 31, 1968,
IN HIS CAPACITY AS AN INDEPENDENT PROGRESSIVE KURDISH PERSONALITY.

HE WAS APPOINTED AMBASSADOR AT THE FOREIGN MINISTRY ON
MARCH 29, 1970, THEN TOOK UP THE POST OF IRAQ'S AMBASSADOR TO
ITALY IN JULY, 1970. HE WAS APPOINTED NON-RESIDENT AMBASSADOR
TO ALBANIA AND MALTA IN JANUARY 1971. HE WAS APPOINTED VICE-
PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC ON APRIL 21, 1974.

2. SIMILAR ITEMS APPEARED IN ARABIC PRESS, WITH ADDITION
THAT SD. TAHA WAS CHARGE D'AFFAIRES IN LONDON JUST BEFORE
REVOLUTION OF 17 JULY 1968.

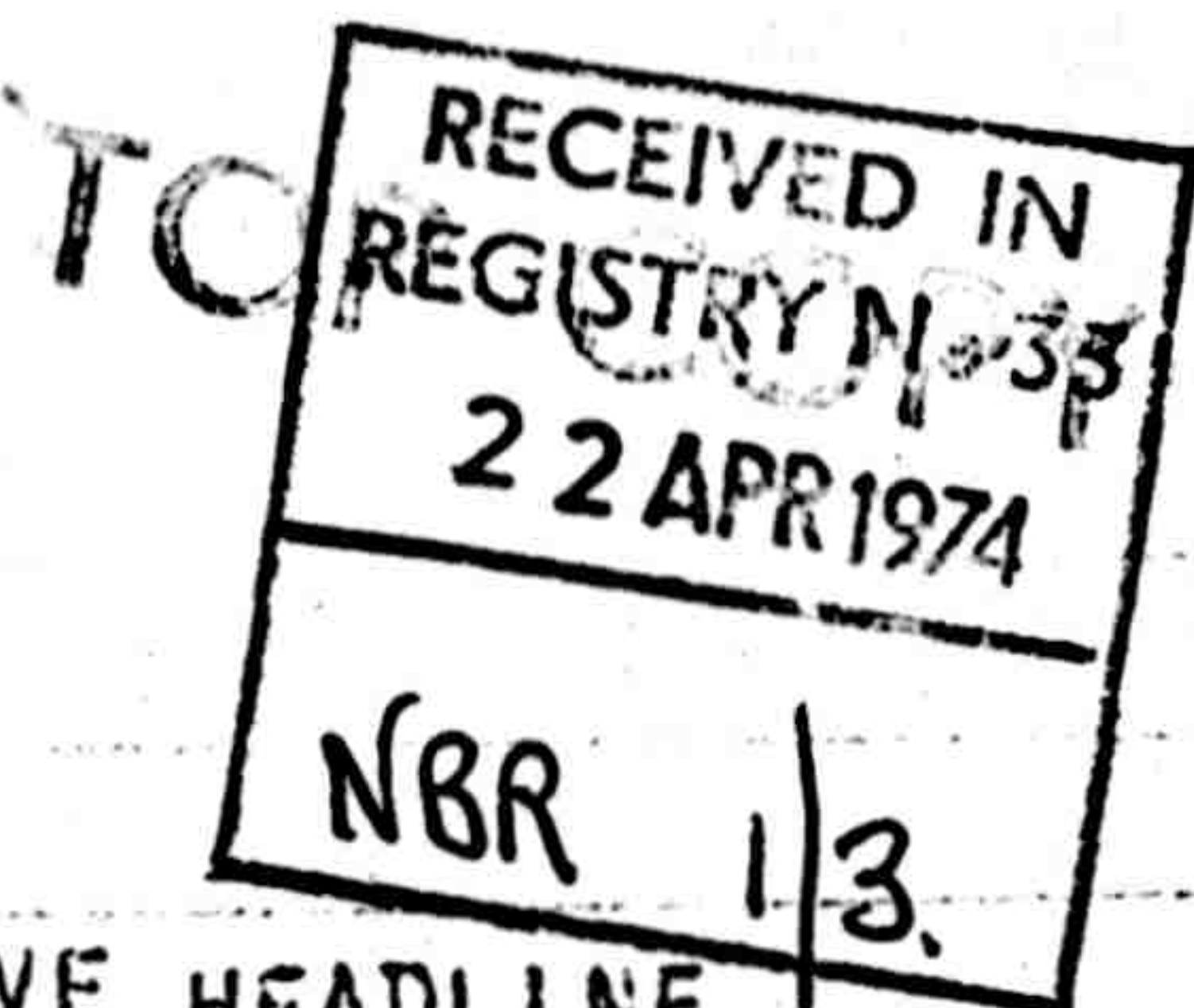
DONOVAN

DEPARTMENTAL DISTRIBUTION

MED

GIPD

NEWS D



16.

✓ 23/4



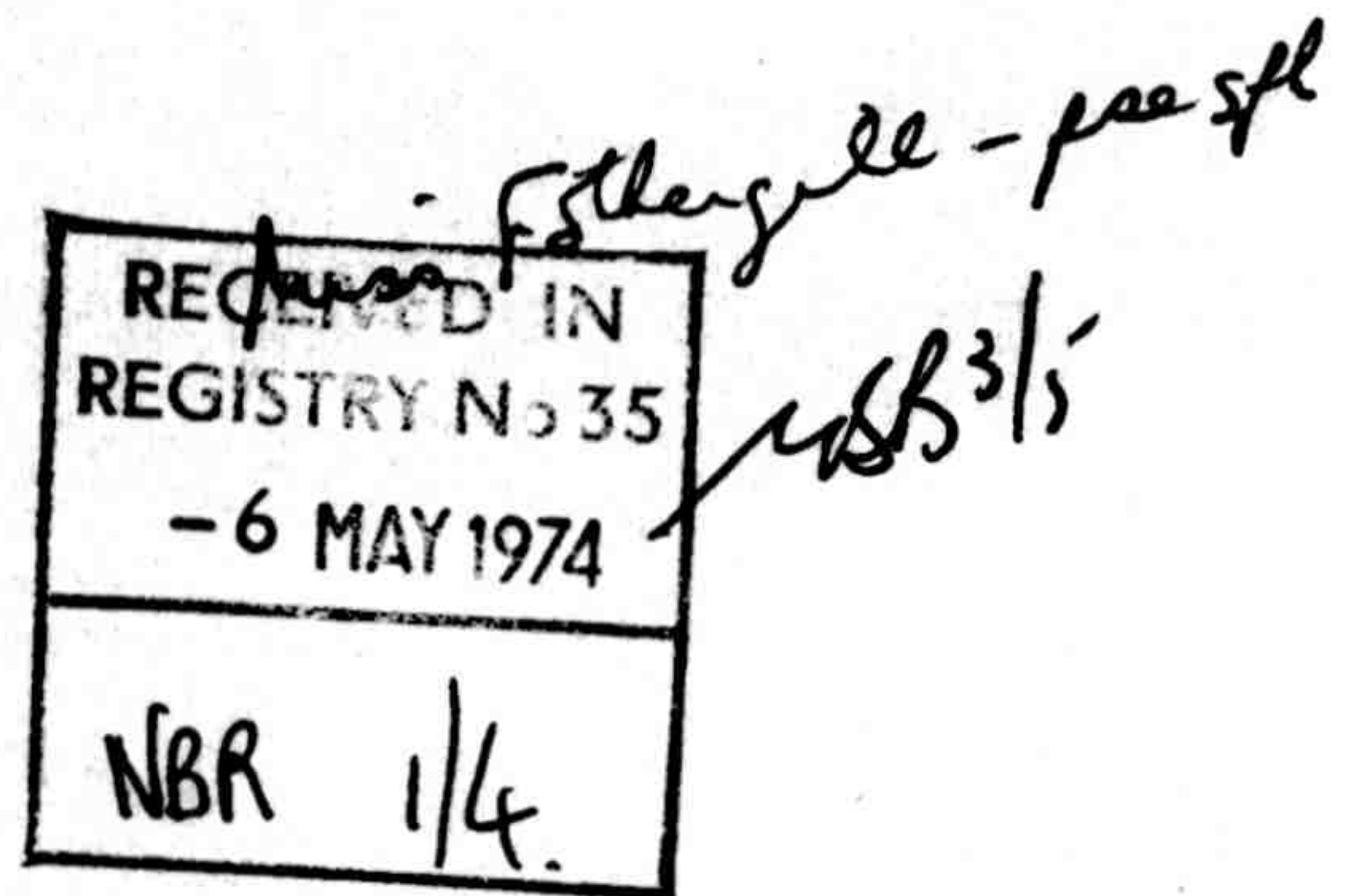
11.

The British Embassy,
Baghdad.

Ref: 1/1

27 April 1974

G S Burton Esq.,
Middle East Department,
Foreign & Commonwealth Office,
London SW1.



Dear Graham,

SADDAM HUSSEINS PRESS CONFERENCE

On 8 April Iraqs Vice President, Saddam Hussein held a press conference for (mainly) Arab journalists, and answered their questions in what, for Iraq, was a fairly forthright manner. Much of the conference has been reported by press channels already, but for the record you may like to have the text of the questions and answers for each area. His statements on several subjects were much more to the point than is customary in Baath politics.

2. Inevitably the question of Kurdish autonomy came up time and again in different forms. Saddam expressed a good deal of confidence that the dispute would be resolved eventually, but did not deny that, for the present, Kurdish leaders and their people are not co-operating with the central authorities.

Yours sincerely,
la

I. McCluney

c.c. Kuwait
Tehran
Washington
Ankara
Tokyo
Jedda
Paris
Beirut

M "The people of Kuwait are our blood brothers, and in addition are our neighbours. Between Iraqis and Kuwaitis there are wider relations in certain fields than the relations of Iraqis with other Arab countries. The Iraqis as families here, and as a regime and a people, and the Kuwaitis as families and a people, we have always wished and still wish that our relations be normal ones in a manner maintaining good-neighbourhood and strengthening the bounds of brotherhood. There existed a problem for many reasons. The question of demarcating the borders. Iraq had not agreed to the demarcation of the borders for many reasons and it informed the Kuwaiti brothers that we are willing to agree to demarcate these borders lest this issue remain a bogey by which others are trying to frighten the Kuwaitis with the purpose of pushing through their projects and schemes against the interests of Kuwait, Iraq and the Arab Nation.

Negotiations have taken place on this subject and we shall continue to exchange our opinions concerning this issue. We are seriously striving to resolve it within the framework the interests of Iraq and Kuwait as two countries, and under the tent of the interests of the Arab Nation in the Gulf area and in the Arab homeland.

Primarily, there is no contradiction in our policy as far as concerns the conduct of the State and the conduct of our Party organisations and our conferences. But our policies are not by necessity identical in the details. Diplomatic considerations are well known throughout the world, and the considerations of mass and popular activity and also the conferences are also well known. Thus there is no dual policy, but there might be some non-identity in details or in the expression of details between the State policy on one hand and of some popular conferences the declarations or statements held in this country on various occasions. We should not forget that the conferences which are held are often Arab or international conferences, in which Iraq has only one vote.

We do not view the relations with all the Gulf countries and all the Arab countries along the same level. This goes without saying, and the decisive element in this is the policy of the Arab countries towards the nationalist interest for which we are all fighting, and not towards us in the narrow sense. We are striving to have normal relations and our basic conditions for these normal relations in that the Principality of State in question should not squander a major national interest. We cannot have normal relations with a state enlisting the help of a foreign country and using its forces against our Arab people. We shall establish normal relations with any country concerned for the native soil and for the Arabism of the country within the normal relations by understanding and brotherly discussions in order to have advanced relations along lines unremoved from our patriotic and nationalist policy.

One brother said that it is being sometimes written and said that Iraq has been raising verbal slogans on the employment of oil as a weapon. I have no answer to this question but I ask this brother: 'What does he think?' This policy which we have explained not by words but by indicators, it is a verbal policy? As to those who are concerned and described our policy as a verbal policy, what is to be done with them? We shall not call them names, nor want them to call us names; but if they have got another viewpoint, we are willing to listen to them and argue with them in order to arrive at what is best.

M

Why did Iraq's army did not return to Syria when there was an opportunity for a firm plan to utilise the armed forces on the bases of clear-cut policy to the strategic and transitional objectives agreed upon? In fact Iraq's army will be there, for this is our policy. We have a "surplus" army to be mobilised in any place where the shots are fired. We have an army prepared to meet the real national and nationalist need, whenever the opportunity arises for its sound utilisation on the bases of a clear policy agreed upon within the transitional and strategic objectives. We shall not hesitate.

This applies to Syria, Egypt and Jordan; it also applies to Saudi Arabia one day if she enters a dispute in defence of an Arab territory. It also applies to any of the Gulf states without hesitation. It is a necessity that Iraq's

cont'd....

- 3 -

army be utilized in defense of the territorial integrity and sovereignty, whenever this is necessary, because Iraq is part of the Arab homeland.

How do we understand the Soviet policy to the question

5

2
Japan is a state and not only companies. We have decided to build developed relations with Japan as a state and as companies. We make no decisions on building developed relations with any country unless there are foundations for this. Concerning Japan, we have decided to build developed relations, developed economic relations with it as a state and as companies, on this basis we have developed our relations with Japan to the point

Cont'd.....

resulting in the agreement which has been already dealt with and which is more accurately a formula of agreements on Projects and not a formula of a loan in the conventional sense, because the loan amounts to a refinery with a capacity of 15-20 million tons, a cement factory with a certain capacity, and projects for gas exploitation, etc. We believe that there are ample opportunities for Iraqi-Japanese relations in the field of economic cooperation, based fundamentally on the conception that Japan has got no political extensions or influence in Iraq along a counter-revolutionary direction, nor are there complexes in past relations obstructing the development of Iraqi-Japanese relations. We hope this would be in the service of you all."

We do not feel the complex of traditional calculations of certain regimes which are frightened to deal with any state in the world, except Israel which we do not consider as a state and do not consider the possibility of cooperating with such entity at any time. Thus the attitude to the US in cutting off diplomatic representation, is a political attitude based on certain principles. It is firm and constant. If the US policy proceed in the same directions which had necessitated cutting off diplomatic relations with it. At the same time, we have no sensitivity or complex of dealing with any country in the world on the principles that preserve our sovereignty and the principles that assure a legitimate mutual interest in accordance with national, nationalistic

Cont'd...

and international criteria. In this country there are great many projects and potentialities. The projects are extraordinarily immense and the potentialities are unlimited. The idea of being isolated from the world to live in a self-sufficient solitude is non-existent and rejected. Interaction and cooperation with the world within the framework that preserves our sovereignty, independent national character and nationalist interest do not contravene with all those considerations. This is the policy which we adopt at the level of economic, political and other forms of dealing.

Then we should inevitably deal with states and companies to carry out projects within Iraq which require more extensive experiences and potentialities than available to Iraq in terms of technical and technological criteria. Iraq is bound nowadays by contracts with US companies and by other contracts with several western states. It deals with a number of western countries and socialist countries excepted, i.e. with all socialist countries. Dealing with all is determined by the national interest. On certain occasions dealing is conducted within the strategic framework i.e. the framework of strategic conception, as is the case with the socialist countries. And on other occasions dealing is conducted within the framework of the transitional mutual interest, as is the case with certain western companies, including those of the US.

A contractor undertakes to carry out a project on a specific timetable; he agrees on the price, delivery period and technical specifications and carries out his obligation. We undertake counter-obligations to pay for the project, after which the contractor leaves the country. Thus, there is no contradiction between our decision to cut off diplomatic relations with the US and the commercial dealing on the principles we have referred to with certain US companies. These companies will have no prelude to changing our political attitudes to the US, for such attitudes will not preclude dealing with certain US companies in accordance with the principles we have explained. The brother Japanese journalist has asked about Iraq's policy towards Israel.

We tackle the basic key points and leave for him the conception of subsequent relative details. To start with, we point out:

Cont'd...

is our policy.

A The 8th Regional Congress has definitely laid down the possibility of coexistence between various social systems. But this requires a number of prerequisites. We cannot put forth the slogan of coexistence unilaterally and stand idly while the other side is putting forth the slogan of aggression. We have said in an interview with pressmen of Arab Emirates in Abu Dhabi that those who make an attempt against our fences will be faced by an attempt on our side against their roofs. We are also committed to this policy. We are peaceful people and are ready to

Cont'd...

solve our problems by peaceful methods and to clearly understand any legitimate wishes but we stand with unlimited stubbornness against any unlawful wishes or attempts. Yes we are capable of fighting on two fronts and will be victorious on both fronts when the fight is forced upon us. There remains the other fronts. Who will carry the arms? The US can give arms without limit but the question is: who will carry the arms? Our Kurdish people have fought for long years and toiled for definite rights. These rights have been summed up in the slogan of autonomy, and the latter cannot be realised except by a national front. Hence autonomy and a national front leading the united Iraq have become available. Who will carry the arms then?

There might be among the two groups persons who have carried arms for a short range, people who were compelled to that under the pressure of terror on the part of a group who up to a short time had been master of the situation in the northern region, a group which had been the law and everything. Thus, when a number of armed men come to a citizen and tell him to go up to the mountains, he goes up, but for how long? Some people now are getting down from the mountains to the plains.

The US can give arms, but the people who will carry the American arms are few in number. We are not afraid of arms but what worries us is the unclarity of the space between the shooter and the target. We are eager to remove any mounds separating the shooter from the real target, lest he hit another target. This has become clear now: there are two trenches, the trench of the people who believe in the building of a new socialist society unlimitedly hostile to imperialism and its interests, trends and policies; and the trench of the people who stand in the opposite direction. We care not for the latter only contrary, let them be in the second trench, because then we can hit them more accurately than if they had been among us."

(To be continued tomorrow)

7

FULL TEXT OF MR. HUSSEIN'S DIALOGUE

WITH THE ARAB JOURNALISTS

(Continuation ...)

Baghdad, 11th April - INA.

X Q - We believe that the greatest economic reform undertaken by the revolutionary government of Iraq has been the nationalisation of oil resources. This nationalisation has confronted the socialist Government of Iraq with difficulties; have you overcome such difficulties and how?

Q - Regarding the Kurdish question, we have heard that Mulla Mustafa Al-Barzani is still holding to the mountains; if such situation continues, what is the attitude of the autonomy in Kurdistan and what is the attitude of the Central Government of Iraq in that connection?

Q - Will you please compare between the attitude of Mulla Mustafa Al-Barzani to the Kurdish question, hence his disresponse to the Autonomy Law, and the international game in the Middle East area?

Q - Are there certain countries which are supporting Barzani and supplying him with arms?

Comrade Saddam Hussein:

To start with, we all believe that the situation is inter-related. In terms of scientific calculations, we can in no way conceive an outcome without origin, for nothing can float on the surface in full bulk. All what is going on and all that you hear of has been taken in our accounts, for years now rather than months. To be assured of the accurate assessment, you may read part of the Political Report published in the special issue of Al-Thawra newspaper yesterday which had been sponsored by the Regional Leadership in mid-November, 1972. We have come to know a hundred of new things, some of which are related to our doctrinal principles and the political pre-requisites of implementing them, while others are related to the recent experiences of the Arabs and the latter

Cont'd...

calamities they have suffered. The outstanding bitter setbacks sustained by our party have taught us a lot; therefore, we are used to premeditate a large number of the images and prospects, if not all, and I can assure you that we have not been taken by surprise even in relation to what is considered by the Iraqis abroad as a sort of surprise. Anticipations may, in real terms, be more or less than the actual anecdotes. But, definitely, what has taken place in Iraq and the Arab homeland since 1972 up-to-date, including secondary details were anticipated and premediated. I have said 1972 rather than 1971 or 1970, although the Revolution's lifetime dates back to July 17-30, 1968, i.e., six years so far we have said 1972 because we do not want to say that we had prepared everything before we had assumed the ruling power. The basic starting points for our concept of the second phase were premediated on the basis of our special experience, the experience of our party, and also on basis of our doctrinal theoretical concepts. However, this did not suffice to conceive the outstanding details in the Arab or international policy, before practically indulging into them from specific levels and through special experiences.

Therefore, I am stressing that since 1972 so far we have not been taken by surprise in any Arab or international development, and before that date, i.e., since July 17, 1968, in any internal development. To conceive the attempts of the counter-revolutionary forces we should first of all conceive the revolutionary procession, for there is no separation between the counter-revolution which involves certain attempts, techniques, formulas, timing and forces, and the revolutionary procession which involves formulas, techniques, timing forces, objectives and policies.

Imperialism in this area of the world has been used to seeing, for quite a time now, the emergence of attempts undertaken by national regimes; sound desires within an absolute framework, but it soon tries, by various means, sometimes by pressure and sometimes by the method of wait and see, to enfeeble such attempts and undermine their results, in as much as that is connected with its interests and basic vital foundations in the Arab homeland. In the light of its special experience in this area, imperialism considered the Revolution of Iraq which had been proclaimed in the first manifesto on 17-30 July, as an attempt which would soon fall within its competence to orient, at least within the subsequent phase, if not right from the beginning. According to our decent and and

limited experience, imperialism has adopted a technique of following up the course right after the fountain, if it has failed to dominate the origin right from the beginning, thus imagining that the subsequent course of development would involve less efforts and less losses than the former alternative.

In all that, imperialism depends on the nature of its previous experiences with national coup d'etats and revolutions which are declared in the first manifesto as a revolutionary movement, involving declared intentions. Now we have the right to maintain, not out of pretention but on the basis of a heritage we feel proud of in the field of serious action, that imperialism has realised that this revolution is of a newtype; it is a revolution not merely by the first manifesto; not merely by its declared intentions, but also by its doctrinal outlook; its policies; its transitional slogans; its strategic objectives; its daily conduct; its internal life; its Arab policy and its international policy. Its intuitive, when imperialism encounters a revolution of this type and in this area which is vital to its interest -- and I don't think we need to explain the vitality of the area and the intuitiveness of the imperialist attempts which taken versatile forms and assumed manifold fronts, including pressure on the outer circumference and strikes from within, it creates renegade focal points within the state system and tries to penetrate renegade focal points within the revolutionary system. Once again it tries to instigate or utilise some of its agents over the borders to exercise pressure on our external circumferences, and through another technique it offers, in one way or another, directly or indirectly, its service to turn Iraq into a paradise of Eden, if only! and it does not necessarily elaborate, directly or publicly what the "if only" means, for through its conducts, it practically provides the explanation.

Cont'd....

In fact, we have not been surprised by such techniques, nor are we fed up with it, for we would rather live without it, but when it comes, we have to make practical calculations and say so long as it has taken place we should confront it with utmost courage, self-confidence and belief in the masses and our unlimited potentialities, so as to rebuff such attempts, because our assets are fundamentally the masses on whom we depend confidently; we never believe that this fortress to which we lean would collapse one day and let us down, as imperialism would dream.

Therefore, brothers, the attempts in the northern area are inseparable from all that huge heritage of achievements and formulas which are basically opposed to imperialism and its interests. In fact, to say the truth without shame, without fear, without ambiguity and without seasonal whims, we serve imperialism when we feel annoyed by it, go for it "hammer and tongue" then soon change the slogans or withdraw our anti-imperialist statements. Imperialism has been there ever since we were born, and is bound to continue so long as we live, as a party rather than individual. Therefore, it is intuitive that imperialism should try and endeavour. We had premeditated that, as indicated in the political report (mid November, 1972) that the second phase would be the phase of organised counter-attacks by the novel techniques on the part of imperialism after the futility of its conventional ones in confronting us and after it had been taken by surprise more that once by thrusting into the battle a non-anticipated reserve, thus tipping the balance in our favour, let alone our further reserve innovations, some of which was mentioned in the political report and others are kept for ourselves within the tactical accounts, so as not to expose our geariness.

Cont'd...

Imperialism imagines that we are not well aware of its techniques; I believe this is a legitimate affair in the accounts of people in-charge of the leadership of a nation, a trade union or a military unit, who when facing their enemy, should not necessarily expose before him all their conceptions of his techniques, so as to mislead him by pretending they knew nothing about his intentions in the subsequent step, then prepare for his confrontation and deal in such an onslaught as to reflect the heaviest casualties into his ranks.

Once again, I should like to say that we would rather live without it; and we have done a lot to prevent it; but, as we act towards precluding it, we are aware of the fact, proceeding from practical calculations, that it is bound to take place.

The case of certain leading elements in the Kurdistan Democratic Party, and their holding to the mountains, together with the talk of the huge U.S. aid they have received by way of Iran, are to be subject of our direct discussion after this introduction.

"We have not been surprised by this fact; and at the same time we are confident that those have sold themselves to the foreigners will end in failure because this people, after realising that the present regime represents their immediate and strategical aims and that the men ruling them (who are represented in establishments, the most important of which are those of the Baath Party) are trying their best to prove their earnestness and loyalty for building a new society which would meet the aspirations of the entire Iraqi people - this people cannot be deceived by what used to be said and heard in the past. The present man of Iraq is a new man. Perhaps not every man in Iraq is an image of the future man; but he is a new man more developed than the old man in everything. Such is our asset and herein lies our confidence that the future is

Cont'd...

ours and not for any evil elements whether in Iraq or in the Arab homeland, whether of Arab nationality or non-Arab.

Some people say: 'how will the revolution be able to face people who can entrench themselves in the mountains and get armed with American arms, and at the same time how will it be able to face the Iranian concentration of troops along the eastern borders?' Iraq is populated by ten million people while America is one of the two greatest powers in the world. American weapons are effective ones and Iran is buying weapons and stockpiling them thus giving rise to optimism among those who are associated with imperialist interests, and fear and anxiety among the honest progressive patriots who are eager for the success of this experiment. In reply we say to the saboteurs and to those people also that while Iran has got weapons we have got a much stronger 'weapon'. This 'weapon' is not the conventional weapon by technical calculations. Conventional weapons can be 'marketed' by the rulers of Iran from Western markets but they cannot 'market' a people believing in them and their policy. We are living in the late 20th century, and the time is over when the army used to be just a professional establishment, that is an army divorced from the people, from their aspirations, from their wishes, from their interactions, from the nation.

Whom and for what is the Iranian army fighting? The Iranian army will not fight the Iraqi army because it is not convinced that the aim of such fighting is in its interests. We are sure of that. Let the Shah of Iran try and see whether the Iranian army will fight the Iraqi army. Let him try his luck and see whether the Iranian people will stand by his side or on the opposite side.

(To be continued tomorrow)

FULL TEXT OF MR. HUSSEIN'S DIALOGUE
WITH THE ARAB JOURNALISTS
(Continuation...)

Y
Baghdad, 12th April - INA.

Throughout all this we are not speaking of dreams of illusions. At the same time we are not employing the method of intelligence services in getting information. We are basically relying on the nature of our regime, its aims and march, and our realisation of the peoples' aspirations and the direction in which they are proceeding. We do not say this as a form of traditional challenge, but we tell the rulers of Iran that (the previous general way is over). The method which the people respect now is that which proceeds from the very interests of the people, from the real desire for building wholesome relations between adjacent regimes and countries, for solving all problems by peaceful methods and abandonment of the method of the rattle of arms. A good leader, a good ruler is that whose people are well-fed. It would be disgraceful to speak of stockpiles of arms while our peoples are sleeping and bare feet on the streets, without sufficient food to eat. These weapons have not been made in Iran, not by the efforts of the people devoted to a given regime in defence of justice. These weapons are imported for evil purposes.

What would serve the people of Iran is to look for a method for building a society without hungry people, without people lying on the pavements of the streets, and under the open air. A society where there should be no people eating to the limit of satiety while others remain

end...

hungry. Such are their affairs now, and such is the honourable path which we would support if proclaimed by the rulers of Iran. We repeat again explicitly: we are trying not to fight on several fronts. This is no secret, but it is the way all revolutions act towards their enemies, and the way of political wisdom. But if several fronts are opened against us we will fight on all fronts, and will fight with unusual intensity and with an unusual method and will offer such sacrifices as would bring us an unusual victory also. We shall not be unhappy when fighting becomes an urgent necessity in defence of justice, of sovereignty and of our aspirations. We shall not wage fierce battles on several fronts and we are confident beforehand of victory not only on one front but on all the fronts on which we shall fight. We are proceeding in this from a long wind and unlimited patience. We are not looking by immediate, hasty, short-sighted calculations to resolve our battles on all fronts in one or two months. We are trying to resolve some of them to the extent which is possible by a time limit parallel with the march of the revolution. But at the same time we are aware that our battles will be long and bitter ones and will extend for a long time. It is not important to ask ourselves whether we will face any battles, whether we will wage any battles. These are questions which will be answered by the march which we have agreed to go through. The important thing in all this to say in the light of the march whether we have prepared what is necessary in order to be victorious in the final outcome. We can answer this with all pride: yes ... yes in the domestic battles, and yes to those who are trying to encroach upon the external fences of our country.

I am a civilian facing you, carrying no arms: and there is a tank battalion at a distance of dozens of

Cont'd...

retreat from this place. A tank cannot be faced by an unarmed civilian. This battalion which has been placed as a guard might be a means for an onslaught against the regime, and in that case all we unarmed people, starting with the President of the Republic and down to the smallest party member will be incapable of facing these weapons. But these weapons and others are in our hands because those who are in charge of them are aware and convinced that the men who are running things here are proceeding along the correct path in which they have faith, beginning with the details of daily work and up to the strategic aims. No matter how strong is a watchman, he cannot carry a weapon with his hand and raise it in a straight line for more than a few hours, and a day might come when his hand will be tired."

"We do not resent the extension of the armies of reactionary regimes and their abundant weapons because we are sure that the wider the armies are horizontally, the greater opportunities there will be for the sons of peasants, of workers, of the people to replace other people whose loyalty is bound up by destiny and interests with the higher quarters of the regime. The wider the armies and their talk, the more opportunity is there for a new (58) as happened in Iraq. The 14 July Revolution took place in Iraq because the Iraqi army had extended to the sons of the peasants and of the people, had its formations been limited, there would have been no revolution. As to us, we can raise our army up to ten million because we are not depending upon special loyalties but upon a policy in which we believe, and in which believe also the peasants, workers, officials, students and housewives. Such are the guarantees and such are our conceptions and calculations. We believe that the people who are trying to make conceptions in an opposite manner will be always the losers."

Cont'd...

"You will ask us anxiously: how are you going to face two fronts with the US backing them up? On the day of 7th October, that is the second day of the war, we announced in the radio and television that we have decided to nationalise the shares of the US as a punishment for her conduct towards the Arabs. Some people thought that it was too much for Iraq of the ten millions to punish the US, while others regarded this as a natural policy in the light of the previous indications. We say: "In this respect that when we punished the US in this form we were already aware of the American reactions to us, and did not build up our policy on illusions or stupidity." We have calculated what the reaction would be and consequently what is required to face the reaction. We are of the type which the more sharply are hit, the sharper we retaliate and in the centre. We have never been of the type to accept a siege from the interior doors. Those who imagine that they can infiltrate through the exterior fence in order to attack us and knock at our interior doors are wrong. We shall penetrate their exterior fence in order to knock at their interior doors and those of their interests wherever they might be in the area. By this we are not divulging any secret for such is our policy.

A The 8th Regional Congress has definitely laid down the possibility of coexistence between various social systems. But this requires a number of prerequisites. We cannot put forth the slogan of coexistence unilaterally and stand idly while the other side is putting forth the slogan of aggression. We have said in an interview with pressmen of Arab Emirates in Abu Dhabi that those who make an attempt against our fences will be faced by an attempt on our side against their roofs. We are also committed to this policy. We are peaceful people and are ready to

Cont'd...

solve our problems by peaceful methods and to clearly understand any legitimate wishes but we stand with unlimited stubbornness against any unlawful wishes or attempts. Yes we are capable of fighting on two fronts and will be victorious on both fronts when the fight is forced upon us. There remains the other fronts. Who will carry the arms? The US can give arms without limit but the question is: who will carry the arms? Our Kurdish people have fought for long years and toiled for definite rights. Those rights have been summed up in the slogan of autonomy, and the latter cannot be realised except by a national front. Hence autonomy and a national front leading the united Iraq have become available. Who will carry the arms then?

There might be among the two groups persons who have carried arms for a short range, people who were compelled to that under the pressure of terror on the part of a group who up to a short time had been master of the situation in the northern region, a group which had been the law and everything. Thus, when a number of armed men come to a citizen and tell him to go up to the mountains, he goes up, but for how long? Some people now are getting down from the mountains to the plains.

The US can give arms, but the people who will carry the American arms are few in number. We are not afraid of arms but what worries us is the unclarity of the space between the shooter and the target. We are eager to remove any mounds separating the shooter from the real target, lest he hit another target. This has become clear now: there are two trenches, the trench of the people who believe in the building of a new socialist society unlimitedly hostile to imperialism and its interests, trends and policies; and the trench of the people who stand in the opposite direction. We care not for the latter only contrary, let them be in the second trench, because then we can hit them more accurately than if they had been among us."

(To be continued tomorrow)

Y

FULL TEXT OF MR. HUSSEIN'S DIALOGUE
WITH THE ARAB JOURNALISTS
(Continuation...)

Baghdad, 13th April - INA.

"We stress that there are no military operations at present, as transmitted by the Western or hostile and misleading information media. To be more accurate, because there are among the Western information media some people who are looking for the truth. The hostile or misleading information media are transmitting inaccurate news. Shall we keep silent at those who are opposing the sovereignty of the country and the law?

The answer is: No. We will use the proper methods for deterring them if they continue with their unlawful and anti-national methods. Do not be worried if you were to hear that a certain military unit has pounced upon a certain position and that some fighting took place, because this is something which we have to do. When matters reach such a point we cannot hesitate. But the decisive action is determined by policy and not by arms. Such is our belief. The decisive action in removing the last trench and the last pocket of counter-revolution cannot be determined by arms but by policy according with the interests of the masses, Kurds and Arabs, it will push back the pocket of counter-revolution in the last position to capitulate.

We are sure of the correctness of our stand, and that the Kurdish people and even certain members of the KKP Central Committee who are at this very moment in the mountains, understand this also.

Has the National Front reached such a level of depth and interaction between the Party mass and files as to perform its tasks? We aspire and work for making the National Front an effective formula for building the new society and for mobilizing the masses in the direction of the aims of the revolution and

Cont'd....

the Charter. But is the present formula on a par with our aspirations on the level of all its branches? On the central level the answer is yes, but the branches level it is no. We are asking whether it has reached the level of perfection? The answer is no. This is bound up with time and with the whole negative heritage of Iraq which we have transcended in thought and policy along the level of leadership and advanced cadres and the level of the greater part of our party organs. I say the greater part not in the sense of the existence of opposition elements. This was not what I meant. But can I assert that every supporter of the Baath Party is daily working in keeping with the wishes of the leadership? The answer is no. But as a policy and an outcome, matters are proceeding definitely in the way planned and desired by the leadership. Also, in order to clarify whether there are elements opposed to the National Front inside the Baath Party or the Communist Party, I can reply on behalf of both parties, also in the negative. In addition to the adherence of the decisions of the congresses and on the level of leaderships, there is real enthusiasm for carrying out the decisions, and there is real struggle for working out the best formula for making the National Front occupy its planned position and the image which we aspire to attain in the present and future calculations. At present the work and coordination has extended from the leadership level that is the level of the supreme committee of the progressive patriotic-nationalist Front and the Front secretariat into the level of formations along the level of the governorates. There are at present Front formations in all the governorates of the country. The Front has not been limited to a supreme leading body. There are also specialized bureaus attached to the Front supreme Committee, and at the same time the coordination has extended from the level of the leaderships of the two parties, namely the communist party and the Arab Baath Socialist Party, as two main heads in the front to that of the subsidiary leaderships in the governorates. At present moment we are perfectly satisfied.

The Front in its present and future formula is a new and unprecedented one in the Arab homeland, a formula which we cherish and are trying to enrich and place under the disposal of revolutionary fighters inside and outside the Arab homeland in order that they might get the greatest possible benefit of it and criticize its negative aspects for their own benefit."

"What is the significance of the appointment of Haidalla, the oldest son of Mustafa Al-Barazani in the new policy? At present loyalty has ceased to be a family or tribal affair. These feuds are over and done with. At present a son may differ with his father in deciding the correct position, and this is a proof of the erroneousness of the policy, calculations and hopes of the others. We have confidence and also information that there are other members of the Barazani family who respond actually and unequivocally to our policy and are working in this direction; and in the future you will see by yourselves whence come the people to support our policy.

The question is no longer one of personal or tribal loyalties. It is impossible to deceive this people any longer. The only thing which determines the clarity of the policy of the revolution is its eagerness to be for all benevolent Iraqis, for all Arab everywhere, for all progressives throughout the world, in as much as it can enjoy the latter's confidence, respect and support. On what force does Iraq depend in implementing autonomy? It depends on the people for implementing autonomy and we have got no force except reliance upon God and upon the people's power, and we can never deceive ourselves or be deceived into imagining that there is any force to replace this one.



British Embassy
Baghdad

Ref: 1/1

June 1974



G.S. Burton Esq.,
Middle East Department,
Foreign & Commonwealth Office,
London.

Dear Graham,

SEMINAR ON THE "PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM"

Saddam Hussein gave the opening address at this seminar in the Teachers Union Hall, Baghdad on 5 June, and I went along to hear him.

2. The meeting got off to a good start when Comrade Naim Haddad, Secretary General of the Patriotic National and Nationalist Front condemned US led world imperialism and accused the United States of having "set in motion the reactionary rightist pocket within the Kurdish Movement" - a reference to Mulla Mustapha Barazani.

3. Saddam Hussein then spoke for 45 minutes from a prepared text, in what was billed as a "major political speech". The general theme was co-operation between the Arab Liberation Movement and the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. Saddam restated the principles of Baath foreign policy as agreed at the Eight Regional Conference in January, viz:

- 1) The requirements of the Arab national liberation struggle and of central Arab issues, in their forefront the issues of Palestine and the Arab Gulf.
- 2) The need to assure protection of Iraq as a base for the Arab revolutionary movement in its quest for unity, liberty and socialism.
- 3) The conviction that the Arab revolutionary movement is an integral part of the world revolutionary movement and the overwhelming need for an alliance between the two in the common struggle against imperialism, aggression and racial discrimination and to guarantee freedom, peace and progress in the world. Concomitantly with this is the great care taken, ideologically as well as practically, to safeguard the independence of the Arab revolutionary movement and its distinctive characteristics.



4) Conviction in the necessity of establishing good relations in all spheres between the Arab people and the peoples of the world in a manner consistent with our interests and our national and nationalist needs and conforming to the principles we cherish of fraternity and co-operation between the peoples of the world.

4. Saddam then said that "relations with the socialist countries and in particular the Soviet Union occupy a distinctive place in Iraq's foreign policy. These relations are connected with the four main considerations (in para 3) which between them define the course of Iraq's foreign policy".

5. He went on to expand the four points above. He mentioned particularly co-operation between the liberated Arab countries and the Socialist countries in the spheres of armament and economic development. The liberated Arab countries need armaments to confront Zionist/imperialist aggression and liberate captured territory. In the circumstances it is natural for the Arabs to turn to the Soviet Union for arms. Liberation of the Arab people conflicts with imperialist interests, a fact borne out by experience in the Arab struggle, beginning with the breakup of the monopoly of arms supply in the middle fifties right up to the war of October 1973.

6. Iraq's relationship with the Soviet Union is built, Saddam said, on the twin pillars of principles and interests. It has taken a long time to build, and he suggests that in some other Arab countries the building has shown flaws and begun to crack (ARE and Syria?). Iraq's relationship from the very beginning was built on the clear foundation of talks in an atmosphere of doctrinal and comradely frankness. Iraq was careful to delimit the points of common agreement and the points of disagreement, while laying emphasis on a line of common action and not allowing secondary points of disagreement to disrupt the wide area of common interest. Thus the strategic alliance between the revolution in Iraq and the Soviet Union is based on the conviction that both stand in line against imperialism, Zionism and reaction, for the liberation and social progress of peoples and the safeguarding of a just peace for mankind as a whole.

7. Speaking about the Palestine issue, Saddam said there was no denying that divergences of opinion exist here between Iraqis and their socialist comrades. They hope to resolve these differences in a dialogue which will circumscribe the area of disagreement and expand the area of agreement and common action.

8. There were some 150 delegates at the conference and I attach a list of those noted as speakers in the press. Despite Saddam's visit to Yugoslavia a few days later, no delegation came from Belgrade.

/If.....



If an explanation for the conference needs to be found it would seem to benefit the Socialist countries by giving an opportunity for contact with a wide range of revolutionary organisations, and the Iraqis obtained some international support for their policies in Kurdistan.

Yours ever

lan

I. McCluney

RECEIVED IN
REGISTRY No 35

29 JUL 1974

NBR 1/4.

ME/4656/A/1

Enter - 1st
20 July 74 (13)

A. THE ARAB WORLD AND ISRAEL

W. Bruton 2.
W. Clerk to 1/1

President Bakr's 17th July Revolution Anniversary Address

Baghdad home service and television 1610 gmt 17 Jul 74

See X on

Excerpts from speech (presumed broadcast live):

pa.

p5.

25/7

In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. Citizens, peace be upon you. Six years ago today Iraq was filled with hopes and ambitions that were [word indistinct] by its sons and vanguard forces. Iraq was also abounding with tragedies and experiencing adverse conditions that were hostile to the people's interests and aspirations. Like the rest of the Arab homeland, our region suffered from the effects of the terrible setback of the June defeat and the weakness, disarray, lack of confidence and deep concern over the future...

In the past year, the Progressive National Patriotic Front was able to complete the creation of many of its institutions... The front's activity at various levels throughout the region has become a tangible fact. It has contributed its share to consolidating the march of the revolution and protecting its great gains. We are very eager, just as we were last year, to make sure that next year the revolution will take further important steps on the path of developing the Front, particularly with regard to the formal joining of the Front's institutions and activities by the other progressive national and patriotic forces.

In the past year in general and in the months that followed the convening of the eighth regional congress in particular, the region witnessed important economic development whose effects will be felt in the near and not too distant future and which will determine the pattern and level of economic and social progress in our country...

The volume of investment expenditure this year has exceeded all previous estimates, insofar as 1,169,000,000 dinars have been allocated for various investment projects for 1974-75. This compares with 310,000,000 dinars allocated for investment expenditure during 1973-74. The share of the major sectors of these allocations is 710,000,000 dinars, of which 125,000,000 dinars were allocated for various industrial projects; 190,000,000 dinars were allocated for projects of the agricultural sector; 120,000,000 dinars were allocated for the transport and communications sector; allocations for expenditures on public buildings and installations, and public health, cultural and social projects totalled 175,000,000 dinars.

QB.
Worth
looking for
briefs

As we are reviewing the revolution's (?activities) in development, it must be pointed out that the autonomous area in Kurdistan has been and will always be given special attention so as to remove what is hindering development and to do away with backwardness. The revolution has built more than 1,300 houses in that area since the 11th March declaration, some 600 elementary, intermediate, secondary and nursery schools have been built, as well as 2,100 km. of roads, of which 1,100 km. are fully paved, (?in the north). More than 350,000,000 dinars have been allocated for development projects in the area. Moreover, the current investment programme has allocated huge sums for the development of our cherished north...

As a result of the economic development which our region witnessed last year it is estimated that the national income this year will increase by more than 100 per cent over last year. If we exclude the oil sector, national sectors and economic activities will grow by more than 13 per cent over last year. This is a unique rate of growth compared with growth rates in the developing countries...

11 ?

In the light of the fact that this is the last year of the 1970-1974 five-year development plan, we are proud to point out that preliminary estimates of the vast investments this year and the investments of the past years of the development plan indicate that the Iraqi economy, with the exception of the crude oil sector, has achieved an annual growth rate of more than 14 per cent in the national income. This rate is double the rate aimed at when the national 1970-1974 development plan was laid down. The average per capita income will increase by approximately 33 per cent annually.

Our full control of our oil wealth has been a decisive factor in attaining these very high rates of growth. However, the revolution is also proud of the other national production sectors. The general annual growth rate in the domestic production in the main sectors - agriculture and mining, with the exception of oil, and the technical industry such as construction, building and electricity - during the period 1970 to 1974 reached about 13 per cent compared with six per cent as originally aimed at in the plan.

Great achievements have been accomplished since the beginning of the revolution in implementing the industrialization programme. Early this year the fertilizers project, costing about 11,000,000 dinars and producing about 190,000 tons of fertilizers, was completed. The artificial silk factory project in Saddat al-Hindiyyah, costing 13,000,000 dinars, having a production capacity of 9,000,000 tons annually and employing about 1,500 workers and technicians, has also been completed. . .

Under the current year's investment programme major agricultural development projects will be implemented. These include the [word indistinct] agricultural project which will cost about 150,000,000 dinars. This is a complete agricultural project including agricultural, social and cultural services and covers 1,000,000 donums of land. There is also the project of Sharq al-Gharraq which will also irrigate 1,000,000 donums of land and will cost about 150,000,000 dinars. Preparations are also being made to complete engineering works for [words indistinct] 400,000 donums that will cost 100,000,000 dinars. . .

The implementation of major projects will begin this year in order to store water and control floods and to generate electric power from dams, such as the Mosul dam, which will cost 120,000,000 dinars. Studies for the building of Hadithah dam, at a cost of 200,000,000 dinars, and Himrin dam on the Diyala River, at a cost of 25,000,000 dinars, are nearing completion.

Work on the microwave network for telephone communications linking major Iraqi towns has begun. The project will cost 11,000,000 dinars. Work has also begun on the northern coaxial cable project whose cost is estimated at 5,000,000 dinars. This is in addition to the building of a complete radio broadcasting station in Babylon. . .

Thanks to the ambitious programme approved by the Party's eighth congress it was possible to achieve this year the projected free education in all stages. . .

These achievements have been made during the extraordinary circumstances which the region has witnessed this year. Most important of these was our participation in the national battles of the October war. Nevertheless, our economy has avoided the negative consequences that usually follow a state of war, thanks to the strength it has acquired in the past few years. Development continued to expand. . .

It should be pointed out that attempts are being made to detract from the positive results achieved by the revolution's measures to raise the living standard of the citizens. Therefore, the departments concerned must maintain strict control and take measures to prevent the occurrence of inflation in the country as a result of the raising of the living standard on the one hand, and help development plans on the other. . .

Our national principles and objectives make it incumbent upon us to draw up our policies and plans on the basis of our belief in Arab unity and the struggle for it as well as to strive for any progress possible on the path of this unity. This requires that we give first consideration to fulfilling our national commitments to the sisterly Arab states

which need economic assistance. For this reason, the Iraqi development fund with a capital of 50,000,000 dinars has been established. This capital is liable to increase. This is in addition to our participation in the regional development establishments in the Arab homeland. Moreover, we have humanitarian commitments to friendly countries which stand on the side of the Arab nation in its legitimate struggle for liberation and progress and we must therefore meet these commitments in the best manner possible.

Compatriots: our country is now facing a great historic responsibility to safeguard domestic unity, implement the democratic solution to the Kurdish problem by applying the components and institutions of autonomy for our Kurdish people. Our country is also facing the task of liquidating the reactionary agent enclave which is bearing arms against the people, revolution and autonomy, prompted by its evil intentions and ambitions and instigated by the imperialist, Zionist and external reactionary forces. The peaceful and democratic solution to the Kurdish problem is one of the main pillars of the policies and programmes of the Socialist Arab Ba'th Party, the 17th July revolution and all the progressive patriotic and nationalist forces in the country.

The task of guaranteeing the legitimate national rights of our Kurdish people, particularly the autonomy within the framework of the Iraqi Republic, was one of the main tasks in implementation of which the revolution has made many great and sincere efforts. The names of those appointed to the main institutions of the autonomy will be announced to you on 30th July after the necessary consultations with the progressive patriotic and nationalist forces. We shall thus begin then a new chapter in consolidating the components of autonomy for our Kurdish people.

We wanted the 11th March 1970 declaration to be the beginning of a new era in the country's domestic life and relations and an integrated, principled and a practical programme for the peaceful and democratic solution of the Kurdish problem which had remained unsolved for many years. The 11th March declaration and the measures and attitudes which preceded and followed it were an expression of the good intentions of the Party and the revolution and their sincere desire to end bloodshed, prevent the recurrence of the mistakes of the past and their implications and solve problems in a spirit of fraternity and co-operation. During four years of continued and exhaustive work, the revolution carried out the major part of its commitments according to the March declaration. It sought to spread peace and stability and secure the requirements of constructive and fruitful work. It was keen to pursue a policy of extreme tolerance and flexibility. However, the oppressive, reactionary and traitorous clique in the Kurdish movement did not respond to these sincere efforts. It did not follow the path of loyalty to the homeland. It maintained and exacerbated the abnormal conditions in the northern part of the homeland. It kept the country's border open to foreign intelligence agents, saboteurs and smugglers. It resorted to various cunning methods to fabricate crises and spread tension. It evaded its commitments under the March declaration by resorting to various methods and pretexts. All its practices at the various levels were devoid of the spirit of national unity and commitment.

This clique overtly co-operated with the imperialist, Zionist and reactionary circles and everyone who opposed Iraq and its ambitions for liberation, progress and stability. It became a centre for spreading anarchy, destruction, corruption and irresponsibility. It also became a grave centre for the counter-revolution (raddah) in the country and an octopus spreading throughout the country to spy and plot against it.

The Kurdish masses have suffered most from this clique's domination and tyranny. It lashed the whip of terror on everyone who disagreed with its view or disobeyed its evil will. It violated the honour of the people and demanded protection money from them.

It was after the Progressive National Patriotic Front submitted its integrated plan for autonomy, which was preceded by intensive democratic discussions that the command of the Socialist Arab Ba'th Party had held with the progressive national and

patriotic personalities of all national inclinations and affiliations, and just before the date on which the revolution was due to fulfill its historic commitment to achieve the autonomy for our Kurdish people - it was at this time that the agent reactionary clique in the Kurdish movement stepped up its manoeuvres, intrigues and acts of sabotage and overtly opposed the national unanimity.

By this suspect behaviour and all its past practices and provocations this clique sought, among other things, to impel the Party and revolution to link the attitude to the clique and its deviationist and treasonable attitudes with the approach to the question of our Kurdish people in order that it could continue to trade with this just national question. But such a deception cannot possibly pass by the Socialist Arab Ba'th Party which believes in the principles of democracy, socialism and humanism and the 17th July revolution with its programme devoted to the service of the people and the realization of all their aspirations. Our faith in the peaceful and democratic solution of the Kurdish problem is firm.

As emphasized by the Party's eighth regional congress in its historic report, the Socialist Arab Ba'th Party, in its capacity as the leader and inspirer of the revolution, considers itself as mainly responsible for securing, safeguarding and developing the legitimate rights of our Kurdish people.

The firm attitude which the Party and revolution have adopted, the sound course they followed in tackling this problem, the support expressed by the Progressive national and patriotic forces and the unanimous national and popular approval of the autonomy plan submitted by the Progressive National Patriotic Front have robbed this traitorous clique of all its weapons. Consequently, this clique revealed its evil intentions and aims against the homeland as well as its close connection with the imperialist, Zionist and reactionary quarters. It brandished its arms in the face of the revolution and chose finally the path of evil and treason. In view of this, it was the duty of the party and the revolution, and of all the progressive national and patriotic forces to wage an all-out struggle to uproot the evil clique, safeguard the unity of the people and the homeland's territorial integrity and ensure peace, stability and democratic life in every inch of this homeland.

Acting on the directions of the party and the revolution's command, the authorization of the Progressive National Patriotic Front and the support of the overwhelming majority of the masses, some units of our valiant armed forces, frontier guard forces and national platoons are now chasing the remnants of this clique to deal them crushing blows and drive them out of the areas on which they imposed their terrorist authority by exploiting in the ugliest manner the revolution's spirit of tolerance and its eagerness to end bloodshed and create the positive circumstances to make the implementation of the March declaration possible. It has been possible in the past short period to drive this gang to remote areas on the tops of the mountains.

The courage, solidarity and deep sense of responsibility as well as the keen interest to safeguard the dignity and interests of the people which our armed forces, frontier guard forces and national platoons have manifested in the honourable battles they have waged against the gangs of the traitorous clique have isolated this clique in a final manner from the masses.

Our great people: We are completely confident that the struggle which our people are now waging against this traitorous clique will be crowned with decisive victory. Let this clique realize that the assistance and encouragement it obtains from the imperialist states, the Zionist entity and the well-known reactionary forces will not save it from its inevitable fate.

These plots cannot possibly affect the July revolution - the revolution of the people, nationalization, socialism and autonomy. Just as it has triumphed in the battles of the past, it will definitely triumph again, with God's help.

In my name and on behalf of the Socialist Arab Ba'th Party command, the Progressive National Patriotic Front, and the people, I convey my greetings and

admiration to our victorious armed forces which are giving most splendid examples of courage, discipline and national struggle in carrying out their duties, and to the frontier guard forces and the national platoons. . .

Compatriots: The eighth regional congress of the Socialist Arab Ba'th Party has defined the basic and necessary considerations that govern our policy and world relations. They are:

- (1) The requirements of the Arab liberation struggle and the main Arab issues, foremost of which are the issues of Palestine and the Arab Gulf.
- (2) The need to protect the revolution in Iraq since it is a base of struggle for the Arab liberation movement and seeks to achieve its aims of unity, freedom and socialism.
- (3) Faith that the Arab revolutionary movement is part of the world revolutionary movement and belief in the need for alliance between them in the struggle against imperialism, aggression, usurpation and racial discrimination and to protect freedom, peace and progress in the world; and great care to see to it that the independence and special character of the Arab revolutionary movement is maintained in principle and practice.
- (4) Faith in the need to establish good relations in all fields between the Arab people and the peoples and states of the world in a manner which accords with our interests and our national and pan-Arab needs and is consistent with our principles regarding fraternity among peoples.

The eighth regional congress attached special importance to relations between the Party and the revolution as part of the Arab revolution on the one hand and the socialist countries, particularly the Soviet Union, on the other. It has stressed that these relations are based on principled considerations and on national and pan-Arab interests. In view of the situation through which the Arab homeland is now passing, it is necessary to elaborate on this point.

Pursuing a firm principle, which we have proven by our deeds, we have often affirmed that we adopt an independent attitude in international relations which stems from our principles and national and pan-Arab interests. At the same time, however, we draw limits to separate this principled and realistic position from the suspect tendencies which try to equate the enemy with the friend. We certainly do not deny that there are differences in views and attitudes between us and our socialist allies, particularly over the question of how to tackle the Palestine issue, but we are very eager to maintain relations of friendship and alliance through cordial dialogue, endeavour and understanding, through mutual understanding and concentrating on points of agreement, and by working jointly at the broadest level.

We strongly condemn tendencies to try to justify the rush towards illegal co-operation with imperialism, particularly US imperialism, and towards opening the doors wide for its penetration into the political, economic and cultural fields. Current tendencies, led by reaction in some Arab countries, in regard to relations with the Soviet Union and the socialist countries are a falsification of the course of independence and [word indistinct], an apostasy meant to deprive the Arab liberation movement of its natural allies and friends, and an actual alignment with imperialism - the enemy of our liberation, unity and progress and the main supporters of the Zionist usurpers of our land. . .

X

Joint Communiqué on King Husayn's Visit to Egypt**(a) Cairo "Voice of the Arabs" 1700 gmt 18 Jul 74****Excerpt from communiqué:**

At the invitation of President Muhammad Anwar as-Sadat of the Arab Republic of Egypt, King Husayn Bin Talal of the Jordan Hashimite Kingdom, paid a visit to the Arab Republic of Egypt from 16th to 18th July 1974. President Sadat and his guest held talks on Arab and international affairs of interest to the two countries. . .

The two sides expressed satisfaction at the progress made by the Arab nation and the growing international support it has gained in its struggle to achieve its just demand for the withdrawal of the Israeli forces from all the occupied Arab territories including Arab Jerusalem and for the realization of the legitimate national rights of the Palestine people.

They emphasized that the fulfilment of this demand was an indispensable condition for the establishment of a just and durable peace in the region. They denounced the recent Israeli attacks on civilian areas in Lebanon, in violation of Lebanese sovereignty and those international commitments barring all attacks on the civilian population. They called on the international community to condemn the plans supported by the Israeli authorities to form new groups to carry out terrorist operations.

The two sides agreed on the necessity of undertaking continued and regular co-ordination between the Arab Republic of Egypt, the Syrian Arab Republic, the Hashimite Kingdom of Jordan and the Palestine Liberation Organization, in such a manner as to ensure the mobilization of the most available strength for the Arab position, the provision of a balanced action to the Arab confrontation forces, and the securing of Arab understanding prior to the resumption of the Geneva peace conference.

The two sides declared that the PLO was the legitimate representative of the Palestinians except the Palestinians residing in the Hashimite Kingdom of Jordan. The two sides concurred on the need to make the PLO take part independently in the Geneva conference at the appropriate stage, in support of the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination. The two sides also agreed on the need to reach a disengagement agreement on the Jordanian front as a first step towards a just peaceful solution.

The two sides expressed anxiety over the recent developments in Cyprus and strongly called for the preservation of the national unity and independence of the Cypriot people, away from any foreign intervention.

HM King Husayn extended an invitation to President Muhammad Anwar as-Sadat to visit Jordan. The invitation has been accepted. Its date will be announced later.

(b) "Voice of Palestine" (Algiers) 1830 gmt 18 Jul 74**Text of report:**

A short while ago news agencies carried the Jordan-Egyptian joint communiqué issued after the conclusion of the visit to Egypt by King Husayn. Concerning Palestine, it stated that the PLO was the lawful representative of the Palestine people except those residing in Jordan. It also referred to the possibility of joint action on disengagement on the Jordanian - Israeli front.

The communiqué indicates that there is a serious retraction on the part of some Arab regimes from the resolution adopted by the recent Arab summit meeting in Algiers in which it was confirmed that the PLO was the lawful and sole representative of the

UNCLASSIFIED

Mc



BRITISH EMBASSY

BAGHDAD

1 August 1974

G S Burton Esq
Middle East Department
Foreign and Commonwealth Office
LONDON

Ent
2/18
we made 6/8
16/8
Copy to Mrs
H. Kimble
6/10/6
16/8
19

Dear Graham

PRESIDENT BAKR'S SPEECH - 17 JULY 1974

1. In his National Day speech on 17 July, President Ahmed Hassan al Bakr reviewed the progress made by the Party in the last year and discussed development plans for the future. An abbreviated text of the speech is enclosed. — attached.

attached —

2. Apart from a useful summary of development plans, the important new fact to emerge was the announcement that on 30 July the names of those appointed to the Kurdish Legislative Council (promulgated in March) would be published. In fact only the names of 60 members were announced on 30 July (list enclosed). I am afraid we are unable to give any detailed information about the individuals concerned at this stage. They are presumably Kurds who have continued to hold Iraqi Government appointments during the period of military confrontation. The list is 20 names short, in that the total complement of the Legislative Council under the law is to be 80. The remainder will be appointed when political conditions permit.

Yours ever
lan

I McCluney

UNCLASSIFIED

SUMMARY OF SPEECH BY PRESIDENT BAKR - 17 JULY 1974

On the evening of 17 July, President Bakr spoke on the radio and television and gave a summary of the Party's progress in the last year and policies for the future.

He said that the 6th Anniversary of the July Revolution fell a few months after the 8th Regional Congress of the Ba'ath Party. The resolutions of that Congress were now being put into practice. The Progressive Patriotic Nationalist Front was now a year old and had completed its organisation throughout the country. In the next year the Revolution hoped the Front would develop and obtain official and active participation of the progressive parties, movements and personalities.

In the past year, and particularly the last few months, the country had witnessed important economic developments. Thanks to the victory obtained by nationalising the oil, the country's oil revenues had increased. Now wide horizons were open for all round rapid and balanced development of Iraq. Investment allocations for 1973 were ID 1,169 m., compared with ID 310 m. last year. Special care was being given to the promotion of development in Kurdistan.

To speed up the implementation of projects the Law for Major Development Projects No 157 had been promulgated at the end of 1973. Imports of raw materials and manufactured goods had been increased this year in addition to increased supplies of consumer goods to match the growing purchasing power. Imports for 1974 would total ID 1,318 m. (4½ times last year's imports).

The 8th Regional Congress had recommended an improvement in living standards of the public. Their measures included direct and indirect subsidies in the prices of essential commodities such as wheat and sugar, and in building materials such as iron. Both the buses and railways were subsidised. The purchasing power of the public had been increased on 1 April when cost of living allowances were granted to Government officials, pensioners and members of the armed forces. There had been tax rebates and reduced water and electricity charges. Nevertheless the rise in prices could be attributed essentially to the dislocation of the economies of a great many of the advanced countries of the world.

The economic development of Iraq was assured. The oil sector aside, other national economic sectors will grow in 1974/75 at a rate of 13%. In this last year of the National Development Plan, preliminary estimates indicate an annual growth rate in the Iraqi economy of 14% in the national income and 33% in per capita income.

The following major projects have been completed:-

Fertiliser Plant	ID 11.0 m.	190,000 tons p.a.
Rayon Factory	ID 13.0 m.	9,000 tons p.a.
Glass Factory		24,000 tons p.a.
Sulphur Project	ID 8.0 m.	250,000 tons p.a.
Cement Factory	ID 3.5 m.	
Sulphur Extraction	ID 12.0 m.	120,000 tons p.a.
Basra Refinery		

A number of new projects have been started this year:-

Petro-Chemical Complex	ID 60.0 m.	
Basra Paper Mill Expansion	ID 40.0 m.	
Fertiliser Production	ID 60.0 m.	2 million tons p.a.
Rural Electricity	ID 60.0 m.	
New Paper Mill	ID 34.0 m.	
20 Brick Works	ID 13.0 m.	
Abu Ghraib Irrigation	ID 150.0 m.	
Gharaaf East Irrigation	ID 150.0 m.	
Ishaki Project	ID 100.0 m.	
Poultry Farms	ID 150.0 m.	
Mosul Dam	ID 120.0 m.	
Haditha Dam	ID 250.0 m.	
Hamreen Dam	ID 25.0 m.	
Passenger Airlines	ID 19.0 m.	
Liquid Sulphur	ID 7.5 m.	
Bus Transport	ID 15.0 m.	
Micro-Wave Communications	ID 11.0 m.	
Nothern Cable System	ID 5.0 m.	
Automatic Telephone	ID 10.0 m.	
TV Stations	ID 5.0 m.	

(This would appear to be a summary of the new Development Plan).

Preliminary estimates for the forthcoming National Development Plan as based on 1973 prices indicate that the volume of investment spending in all sectors will exceed ID 5,000 m. The division of this investment is as follows:-

Education and Public Health Services	ID 1,000 m.
Industry	ID 1,400 m.
Agriculture	ID 1,360 m.
Transport and Communications	ID 1,000 m.
Miscellaneous	ID 1,000 m.

The chief purpose of the sought-after development is a better life for the broad masses and toilers, in particular through making available employment opportunities that give them a decent standard of living.

/The

The major historic responsibility of our country is the preservation of national unity and the accomplishment of a democratic solution to the Kurdish issue. The under-writing of the lawful national rights of the Kurdish people within the framework of the Republic of Iraq is one of the chief tasks of the Revolution. On 30 July the names of members of the main establishments of self-rule will be announced following consultations with all Progressive National and Nationalist forces and elements. A new chapter will be turned in laying the foundations of self-rule of our Kurdish people.

While the Revolution has been careful to pursue a policy in Kurdish matters of maximum tolerance and flexibility, a reactionary and traitorous faction within the Kurdish movement has grown up. This faction has maintained and aggravated the lawless conditions in the Northern parts of Iraq, kept the country's frontiers open and accessible to foreign intelligence agents, contrived crises by sly tactics and failed to meet its commitments under the 11 March Manifesto. It has collaborated with imperialist, Zionist and reactionary circles hostile to Iraq. It is a dangerous centre for counter-revolution, espionage and conspiracy. By its dubious conduct this clique is seeking to drive a wedge between the Party and Revolution on the one hand and the Kurdish people on the other. The Party is not deceived by this trick and keeps its faith in a peaceful and democratic settlement of the Kurdish question as stressed in the 8th Regional Congress.

At the direction of the Party leadership and the Revolution and with the support of the Progressive National and Nationalist Front and the backing of the broad popular masses - some units of our armed forces, border groups and national elements are chasing the remnants of this clique and removing them from the areas where they have imposed their territorial authority in the past. The armed forces have now chased this gang to remote areas of the highlands and completely isolated them from the masses.

ABSP international policies and resolutions are as follows:-

- (i) The Arab liberation struggle and in its forefront Palestine and the Arab Gulf areas.
- (ii) The protection of the Revolution in Iraq as a base for the Arab liberation struggle.
- (iii) The belief that the Arab Revolution is part of the international revolution and it is necessary to maintain an alliance between them. The Revolution struggles against imperialism, aggression, usurpation and racial discrimination, and safeguards liberty, peace and progress.
- (iv) The belief that it is necessary to maintain good relations in all fields between Arab people and the peoples of the world in a manner complying with our national

/and

nationalist interests and needs and in conformity with our principles of fraternity among peoples.

Among the fundamental mainstays of our national policies is the non-alignment line. We regard non-alignment as a necessity to recently liberated countries aspiring to progress. We seek to consolidate such policy and struggle to purify the current non-alignment. We appreciate the efforts being made to ease tension in the world and to lay a basis for peace and settle problems by peaceful means. The real international peace is that which is based on the respect of the will of the peoples and their natural right to manage their territories and national forces without external intervention.

The President then spoke of Iraq's view of the problems in Asia, Africa and Latin America. He spoke in support of the Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam, the Cambodian National Coalition, the struggle of the African people against imperialist domination and ended with a discussion of Arab nationalism.

In speaking about disengagement, President Bakr said that the questions now arising in the Arab world go beyond the limits of rights and sovereignty of any Arab Government. In the national issue of the battle in Palestine, Sinai and the Golan Heights, no-one has the right to opt for a course that can be in jeopardy the rights and gains of the nation whatever excuses may be advanced.

Many were trying to manoeuvre members of the Palestinian resistance movement and compel them to give up their rights and the rights of the Arab nation in Palestine and settle down to solutions which would liquidate the Palestine Revolution and break the will of the Arab people. Arab popular causes must face up to counter-revolution and plots of imperialism.

The President ended by saying that the Party did not intend to sit on its laurels or to be lulled into complacency and self-satisfaction. The Party's faith in the people and capacity of the national was without limits. The Party would move forward to greater victories and successes.

KURDISTAN'S CONSTITUTIONAL INSTITUTIONS
WILL BE ANNOUNCED TUESDAY

Baghdad, 28th July -- INA.

The formation of the constitutional institutions for the autonomous area of Kurdistan will be announced Tuesday, INA learned from official sources. The date was already affirmed in President Bakr's July 17 speech as deadline for announcement of the formation of the area's two main institutions, the legislative and the executive councils.

Under a special law enacted in March, the legislative council will be formed of 80 members elected by direct ballot but the law made it permissible to appoint council members for the first tenure. The council's tenure will be 3 years starting from the date of the first meeting and ending with the last meeting in its third year.

The executive council is the body which will run Kurdistan's autonomous area. It will be made up of a President, Vice-President and council members whose number will be equal to the number specialised administrative offices.

In accordance with the law, there will be 10 specialised offices for education, works and housing, agriculture and agrarian reform, internal affairs, communications, culture and youth, municipalities and summer resorts, social affairs, economic and financial affairs, and Awqaf (religious property) affairs. The President and council members will have the rank of minister.

1/PAS.

31 July 1974

RCC names members to first Legislative Council in the North

The Revolutionary Command Council decided at its session held yesterday to nominate 60 members of the first Legislative Council for the area of autonomy in the Republic of Iraq.

Following is the text of the RCC decision which was broadcast over Baghdad radio and television networks.

"Decision No. 334 of July 30, 1974.

"Pursuant to the provisions of Para B, Article 42 of the Interim Constitution and Article 10 of the Legislative Council Law for the area of Kurdistan No. 36 of 1974, the Revolutionary Command Council decided at its session on July 30, 1974, the following:

"1. — The Messrs mentioned here under shall be members of the first Legislative Council for the area of Kurdistan: Ibrahim al-Haj Mahmoud

Mohammed Amin, Ahmed Abdul Qader al-Naqshabandi, Ahmed Mustafa Dilzar, Ihsan

Taher Rushdi al-Mefti, Ismail Rasoul Ahmed, Bashir Abdul Rahman Ali al-Atroshi, Badi'ah Ahmed Najib Saleh, Tawfiq Ahmed Mohammed, Toma Dawood al-Qass, Taimour Saleh

Zeki Saheb Qaran, Hussein Khedhir al-Sourji, Haj Mulla Sa'ed Mohammed, Hikmat Haji Salim, Khalid Sediq Othman, Za'ir Khattab Ismail, Samya Shaker al-Jawwishli Serwan Othman Arif, Serwan Abdullah Hussein al-Jaff, Shlemon Malik Bekko Wanana, Saber al-Sheikh Raqib Mohammed al-Sourji, Suna'n Ahmed al-Qassab, Taher Ahmed Baban, Arif Khalid Hassan, Abdul Qader Mustafa Mohammed al-Memori, Abdul Mun'em Badi Mohammad, Othman Mohammad Fa'iq Tawfiq, Abdul Rahman Sha'ban Hero, Ali Ibrahim Darwish, Ali Sharif Aziz, Ali Mohammad Qadir, Akid Sidiq al-Haj Shaban, Awni Mustafa Mulla Jibrael Ali Ghayath al-deen Al Naqshabandi, Fa'eq Jamil al-Ali, Qader Rashid Abdul Rahman, Kawa al-Sheikh La'if Mahmoud al-Hafid, Kamal Aziz Totanji, Kamal Merza Karim, Latif Ahmed Mohammad al-Zaibari, Mohammad Amin Ahmed Panjawini, Mohammad Hassan Dezae'i, Mohammad Zayor Sharif, Mohammad Sa'ed Abdul Rahman, Mohammad Sa'ed Abdul Rahman, Mohammad Saleh al-Haj Amin Nu'aman alAmmadi, Mohammad Sediq Mahmoud, Mohammad Kalhi al-Rikani, Mohammad Ma'rouf Ibrahim, Mohammad Mustafa Ahmed, Mohammad Muhyiddin Mohammad, Mahmoud Abbas Mohammad Muhyiddin Jankir al-Herki, Mustafa Haj Hussein Arkosh, Mustafa Mahmoud Mustafa al-Peshdari, Mussa Abdul-Samad Sa'dallah, Nassir Tawfiq al-Rawi, Nathir al-Sheikh Ahmed al-Barzani, Najim al-Deen Mamo al-Sorji, Hashim Taha Hakim al-Aqrawi, Hamza Othman Younis, Yalda Toma Ishaq al-Barwari,

2 — This decision shall become effective as from the date of its publication in the Official Gazette.

"Ahmed Hassan al-Bakr
Chairman, Revolutionary
Command Council"

It is to be noted that Law No. 36 of 1974 had provided that the number of the Council members be 80. Thus, the names of other 20 members will be declared in a subsequent ROC decision, when the political conditions permit those Kurdish citizens who, under the current conditions have not been able to exercise their national obligation in the autonomy institution, to join the Council.

CONFIDENTIAL

(15)

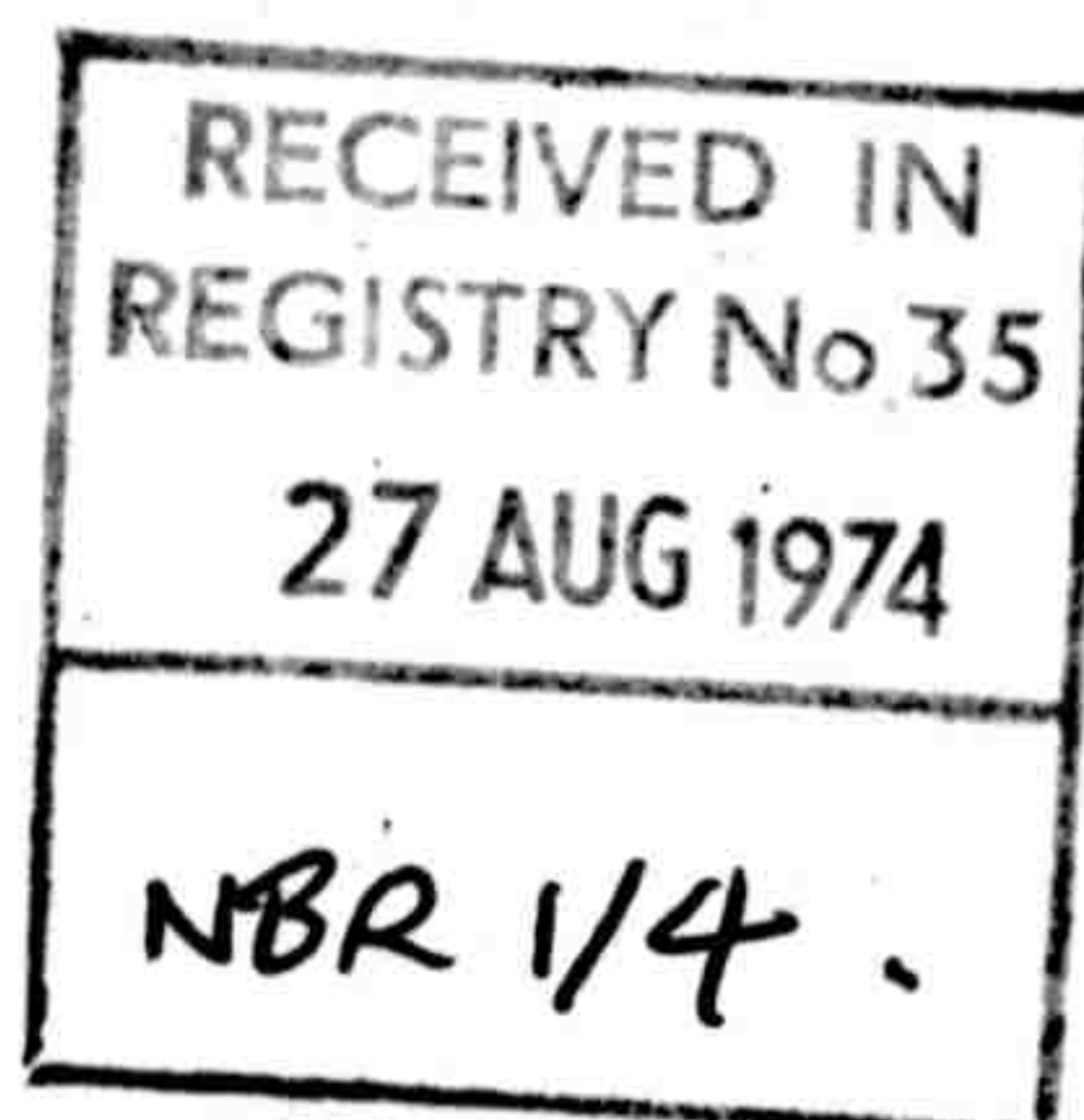
IMMEDIATE

GRS 600

CYPHER/CAT A & BY BAG

FM F.C.O. 231700Z

CONFIDENTIAL



(NBK 3/548/1)

Handwritten: 27/8/74
para 6.

TO IMMEDIATE KUWAIT TELEGRAM NO. 247 OF 23 AUGUST 74 INFO SAVING BAGHDAD.

OUR TEL NO 243 AND YOUR LETTER OF 21 AUGUST TO CLARK: UK/KUWAIT RELATIONS.

1. THE CONSIDERATIONS DESCRIBED IN MY TELEGRAM UNDER REFERENCE STILL APPLY TO A MINISTERIAL MESSAGE. IT IS UNLIKELY THEREFORE THAT WE SHALL MEET YOUR DEADLINE BUT PLEASE CONFIRM AS SOON AS YOU KNOW ATIQI'S DATE OF DEPARTURE. IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES WE HOPE YOU CAN AVOID DISCUSSING THE DIRECT OIL DEAL WITH ATIQI NEXT WEEK. IF PRESSED, YOU SHOULD SPEAK ON THE LINES PROPOSED IN YOUR LETTER UNDER REFERENCE, DRAWING AS NECESSARY ON PARA 5 OF FCO TELNO. 1723 TO WASHINGTON. YOU SHOULD AVOID BEING PINNED DOWN ON PRICES AND QUANTITIES, AND IF ATIQI SUGGESTS KURTHER DISCUSSIONS ON HIS PROPOSAL YOU SHOULD SIMPLY UNDERTAKE TO PASS ON HIS REQUEST WITHOUT COMMITMENT.

2. WE SHOULD NOT HAVE WISHED YOU TO MAKE A SPECIAL EFFORT TO SEE ATIQI BEFORE THE NEXT OPEC MEETING, BUT IF AN OPPORTUNITY ARISES TO SPEAK TO HIM ABOUT GENERAL OIL MATTERS BEFORE HIS DEPARTURE YOU SHOULD STRESS OUR CONCERN ABOUT THE POSSIBILITY OF A FURTHER PRICE RISE BEING AGREED AT THE OPEC MEETING. WE ARE REPEATING TO YOU OUR TELEGRAPHIC REPLY TO TEHRAN TELNO 440 OF 18 AUGUST, WHICH WILL CONTAIN A NUMBER OF POINTS ON OIL PRICES AND INFLATION. IT WOULD BE HELPFUL IF YOU COULD MAKE THE POINT IN PARAGRAPH 2(F) ABOUT A SINGLE PRICE FOR OIL. YOU MAY ALSO WISH TO DRAW ON OUR TELEGRAMS 334 AND 345 TO TEHRAN AND 1723 TO WASHINGTON ALL OF 16 AUGUST.

CONFIDENTIAL

/3. IF YOU

CONFIDENTIAL

3. IF YOU JUDGE IT APPROPRIATE TO THIS OCCASION YOU MAY WISH TO DISCUSS WITH ATIQUI WAYS OF PURSUING A DIALOGUE ON FINANCIAL MATTERS (WHICH WE CONSIDER IN ANY CASE IS LIKELY TO PROVE A MORE FRUITFUL FIELD FOR DISCUSSION THAN OIL). YOU SHOULD REFER TO KHALID ABU SAUD'S RECENT VISIT TO LONDON (YOUR LETTER OF 7 JULY TO WRIGHT AND BARRATT'S LETTER OF 29 JULY TO YOU REFER). THE TREASURY FOUND THEIR TALK WITH HIM MOST HELPFUL AND WE NATURALLY WISH TO MAINTAIN THE CLOSEST CONTACT. SUBJECT TO YOUR VIEWS, YOU MAY TELL ATIQUI THAT RUSSELL BARRATT HOPES TO VISIT KUWAIT BEFORE LONG TO MAKE ATIQUI'S PERSONAL ACQUAINTANCE AND TO DISCUSS FURTHER WITH OFFICIALS IN THE KUWAIT MINISTRY OF FINANCE MATTERS OF COMMON CONCERN RELATING TO THE FINANCIAL SURPLUSES. THE GOVERNOR OF THE BANK OF ENGLAND IS CONSIDERING THE POSSIBILITY OF A VISIT TO KUWAIT BUT YOU SHOULD NOT REFER TO THIS IN YOUR DISCUSSIONS AT THIS STAGE.

4. ANOTHER TOPIC ON WHICH YOU MAY WISH TO TOUCH IS ARAB FINANCE FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF ALTERNATIVE SOURCES OF ENERGY. ON THIS, YOU WILL HAVE SEEN GRATTAN'S LETTER OF 31 JULY AND BURTON'S LETTER OF 2 AUGUST BOTH ADDRESSED TO HINCHCLIFFE. THIS LOOKS LIKE A FRUITFUL FIELD FOR EARLY EXCHANGE OF VIEWS. WE ARE CONVENING A MEETING SHORTLY WHEN, FOR YOUR OWN INFORMATION, WE AIM TO SECURE, WHITEHALL AGREEMENT FOR A "TEACH-IN" FOR THE KUWAITIS ON THE CURRENT POSITION IN ALL RELEVANT ASPECTS OF THIS WORK.

5. AS YOU ARE ALSO AWARE, PORTER (DIRECTOR-GENERAL OF THE ODM'S ECONOMIC PLANNING STAFF), ROWLEY (MEDD) AND REDNALL HOPE TO CALL ON THE TWO KUWAIT- BASED FUNDS IN OCTOBER IN ORDER TO INITIATE A DIALOGUE WITH THE KUWAITIS ABOUT THE THIRD WORLD. WE HOPE THIS CAN DEVELOP INTO A FORM OF PRACTICAL COOPERATION THOUGH WE APPRECIATE THE NEED TO HANDLE THIS CAUTIOUSLY IF ATTEMPTS TO STEER ARAB AID MONEY TOWARDS POORER COUNTRIES ARE NOT TO PROVE COUNTER-PRODUCTIVE.

/6. YOU HAVE

(by this telegram)

CONFIDENTIAL

6. YOU HAVE ASKED FOR POLITICAL MATERIAL TO USE FOR YOUR CONTACTS WITH THE KUWAITI AUTHORITIES. IN ADDITION TO THE MATERIAL ALREADY AVAILABLE TO YOU WE ARE ASKING HM EMBASSY, BAGHDAD, TO COPY TO YOU CORRESPONDENCE ON THE INTERNAL SCENE IN IRAQ. WE ARE ALSO REPEATING TO YOU GUIDANCE ON OUR CURRENT ASSESSMENT OF THE SITUATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST. WE SHALL SEND BY BAG AN ANNOTATED COPY OF THE AGENDA FOR THE FORTHCOMING UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

CALLAGHAN

FILES

MED
NENAD
FRD
EN D
STD
UND
MR CAMPBELL
MR WILTON
MR WEIR
SIR D MAITLAND
MR MARSHALL
MR WILTON

COPIES TO

MR C J A CHIVERS H M TREASURY
MR J E REDNALL ODM
MR R BIRCHMORE D/ENERGY

RECEIVED IN
REGISTRY No 35
25 SEP 1974
NR 1/4

The following is the text of the new Interim Constitution which was announced on Thursday, July 16, 1970, by President Ahmad Hasan al Bakr over Baghdad TV and Radio:

PART 1 REPUBLIC OF IRAQ

Article 1

Iraq is a sovereign People's Democratic Republic having a basic objective of realising the unified Arab State and establishing the socialist system.

Article 2

The people are sources of power and its legality.

Article 3

- (a) Iraq's sovereignty is an undivisible unity,
- (b) Iraq's territory is an integral unity, any part of which shall not be waived.

Article 4

Islam is the religion of the State.

Article 5

- (a) Iraq is a part of the Arab nation.
- (b) The Iraqi people consists of two main nationalities, namely the Arab nationality and the Kurdish nationality, and this Constitution shall recognise the national rights of the Kurdish people and the legitimate rights of all minorities within the Iraqi unity.

Article 6

Iraqi nationality and provisions thereof shall be organised by the law.

Article 7

- (a) Arabic is the official language.
- (b) Kurdish shall be an official language besides Arabic in the Kurdish region.

Article 8

- (a) Baghdad is the capital of Iraq Republic, and may be transferred by a law.

- (b) Iraq Republic shall be divided into administrative units to be organised on the basis of non-central administration. The area, the majority of whose populations are Kurds, shall enjoy autonomy in accordance with the stipulations of the law.

Article 9

The flag of Iraqi Republic, its emblem and the provisions related thereto shall be defined by a law.

/Part II

PART II SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC PRINCIPLES OF IRAQ REPUBLIC

Article 10

Social solidarity is the foremost foundation of society; it implies that each citizen shall undertake his full obligations towards the society and that the society shall guarantee for each citizen his full rights and liberties.

Article 11

The family is the nucleus of the society, and the State shall guarantee its protection and support, and safeguard maternity and childhood.

Article 12

The State shall undertake the planning, orientation and guidance of national economy with a view to:

- (a) Establishing the socialist system on revolutionary and scientific bases.
- (b) Realising the Arab economic unity.

Article 13

The natural resources and basic means of production are property of the people, utilised by the Central authority in the Republic of Iraq through direct exploitation in accordance with the requirements of the general planning of national economy.

Article 14

The State shall guarantee, encourage and support all forms of cooperation in production, distribution and consumption.

Article 15

Public property and possessions of the Public Sector shall have special right of security, and the State and all citizens shall safeguard and devote keenness to the security and protection thereof, and any sabotage therein or aggression thereupon shall be considered as sabotage in the social entity and an aggression thereupon.

Article 16

- (a) Ownership is a social obligation to be exercised within the limits of the objectives of society and the programmes of the State, in accordance with provisions of the law.
- (b) Private ownership and individual's economic liberty shall be guaranteed within the limits of the law, and on the basis that they should not be exploited in contrast, or detrimental to, the general economic planning.

/Private....

- (c) Private property shall not be expropriated except for the requirements of the public interest, and against a fair compensation in accordance with the principles defined by the law.
- (d) The maximum limit of agricultural property shall be defined by the law, the excess of which shall be considered a property of the people.

Article 17

Heritage is a guaranteed right to be organised by the law.

Article 18

Estate ownership shall be denied to non-Iraqis except for the cases excepted by the law.

PART III BASIC RIGHTS AND OBLIGATIONS

Article 19

- (a) Citizens shall be equal before the law, without any discrimination by reason of sex, race, language, social origin or religion.
- (b) Equal opportunities shall be guaranteed for all citizens within the limits of the law.

Article 20

- (a) The accused is innocent until his conviction is proved in a legal trial.
- (b) The right of defence is sacred in all stages of investigation and trial, in accordance with the provisions of the law.
- (c) Sessions of courts shall be public unless the court decides to hold them in closed doors.

Article 21

- (a) The penalty is personal.
- (b) No crime and no punishment shall be passed except in accordance with the law, and no punishment shall be inflicted except in connection with an action considered by the law as a crime while it is committed, and no harder punishment than the one in currency during the crime committance.

Article 22

- (a) Man's dignity shall be safeguarded, and the exercise of any sort of physical or psychological torture shall be prohibited.
- (b) No person may be arrested, placed in custody, imprisoned or inspected except in accordance with the provisions of the law.

/Houses....

- (c) Houses shall have dignity, and they may not be entered or investigated except in accordance with the principles defined by the law.

Article 23

The confidentiality of post, telegraph and telephone correspondence shall be guaranteed, and they may not be exposed except for the requirement of justice and in accordance with the limits and principles defined by the law.

Article 24

The citizens may not be banned from travelling abroad or returning to the country, and his movement and residence inside the country may not be restricted except in the case defined by the law.

Article 25

Religions, beliefs and the exercise of religious rites shall be guaranteed, provided that this shall not contradict with the provisions of the Constitution and the laws and shall not violate public morals and discipline.

Article 26

The Constitution shall guarantee the freedom of opinion, publication, convention, demonstration and the establishment of political parties, trade unions and associations in accordance with the objectives of the Constitution within the limits of the law. The State shall endeavour to provide the necessary conditions for the exercise of such liberties which shall be consistent with the nationalist progressive course of the Revolution.

Article 27

- (a) The State shall undertake to combat illiteracy and guarantee the right of free education in various primary, secondary and university stages to all citizens.
- (b) The State shall endeavour to render primary education compulsory and expand the scope of vocational and technical education in cities and the countryside, and especially encourage night-schools which enable the popular masses to combine between education and work
- (c) The State shall guarantee the freedom of scientific research, encourage and reward distinction and innovation in various ideological, scientific and technical activities, as well as the various aspects of popular genius.

Article 28

Education shall aim at raising and developing the general cultural standard, promoting the scientific thought, enhancing the spirit of research, meeting the requirements of economic and social development and reconstruction programmes and create a /nationalist....

Nationalist liberated and progressive generation enjoying physical and moral strength, having a proud attitude towards his people, homeland and heritage, enjoying a sense of pride to all the rights of nationalities, and fighting against the capitalist philosophy, exploitation, reaction, Zionism and imperialism, for the sake of achieving Arab unity, liberty and socialism.

Article 29

The State shall guarantee the conditions for utilising the achievements of modern civilisation, for popular masses, and generalising the utilisation of progressive achievements of contemporary civilisation to all citizens.

Article 30

- (a) The public employment is a sacred right and social service, consisting of conscious and lawful observance of the interests, rights and liberties of the masses, in accordance with provisions of the Constitution and the law.
- (b) Equality in holding public positions shall be guaranteed by the law.

Article 31

- (a) Defence of the homeland is a sacred duty and honour of the citizen; the military service shall be compulsory, and the law shall define the manner of its undertaking.
- (b) The armed forces are property of the people; they are the instrument of the people for safeguarding its security, defending its independence, protecting the security and unity of its ranks and territories and realising its national and nationalist objectives and aspirations.
- (c) The State alone shall undertake the establishment of the armed forces, and nobody or group may establish military or semi-military formations.

Article 32

- (a) Work is a right to be guaranteed by the State for every citizen able to perform it.
- (b) Work is a sacred honour and duty to every citizen able to perform it, required by the necessity of participation in the construction, protection, development and the flourish of society.
- (c) The State shall guarantee the improvement of work conditions, raising living standards experience and education of all working citizens.
- (d) The State shall provide the widest social guarantees for all citizens in cases of disease, disability, unemployment and old age.

/The State.....

- (e) The State shall endeavour to draw up programmes and provide necessary means to enable working citizens to spend their leaves in an atmosphere that will help them improve their health conditions and promote their educational and technical qualifications.

Article 33

The State shall undertake to protect public health by means of embarking on the continuous expansion of free medical services, in the field of prophylaxis, treatment and medicine, in cities and the countryside.

Article 34

- (a) The Republic of Iraq shall grant the right of political asylum to all strugglers facing oppression in their countries by reason of their defence of liberty and human principles adhered to by the Iraqi people under this Constitution.

- (b) Political refugees may not be expatriated.

Article 35

Payment of financial taxes is a duty of every citizen, and no financial taxes may be imposed, amended or levied except by the law.

Article 36

Any activity that contradicts the objectives of the people specified in this Constitution shall be prohibited, and any action or behaviour aiming to shatter national unity of the popular masses or instigate racial, congregational or regional whims between the ranks of the people, or commit aggression on the people's gains and progressive achievements, shall be banned.

PART IV INSTITUTIONS OF IRAQ REPUBLIC

CHAPTER (1)

REVOLUTIONARY COMMAND COUNCIL

Article 37

The Revolutionary Command Council is the higher body in the State which has undertaken on the 17th of July 1968 the responsibility of realising the comprehensive popular will to wrest power from the corrupt totalitarian reactionary regime and restore it to the people.

Article 38

The Revolutionary Command Council shall exercise by the majority of two-thirds of its members the following powers:

- (a) Electing a president thereof from among its members, to be nominated Chairman of the Revolutionary Command Council and virtually become President of the Republic.

/Electing....

- (b) Electing vice-chairman from among its members to be nominated Vice-Chairman of the Revolutionary Command Council, to virtually replace the chairman in all his characteristics specified in the previous para. in the official absence of the chairman, or in case the Chairman's exercise of his constitutional powers becomes difficult or impossible for any legitimate reason.
- (c) Electing new members to the Council from among the Regional Leadership of the Arab Ba'ath Socialist Party, provided that the number of its members shall not exceed 12.
- (d) Deciding upon the resignation of the Chairman, Vice-Chairman or any Member of the Council.
- (e) Relieving any Member from the Council membership.
- (f) Accusing and trying Members of the Revolutionary Command Council, Vice-President and Ministers.

Article 39

The Chairman of the Revolutionary Command Council, the Vice-Chairman and Members shall be sworn in before the Council, as per the following oath:

"I swear by Almighty God, my honour and my doctrine to safeguard the Republican regime, adhere to its Constitution and laws, dedicate to the interests of the people, protect the independence of the country and the security and unity of its territories, endeavour with all sincerity and faithfulness to realise the objectives of the Arab Nation to unity, liberty and socialism."

Article 40

The Chairman, Vice-Chairman and Members of the Revolutionary Command Council, shall enjoy full immunity, and no action shall be taken in regard to any of them except by previous permission from the Council.

Article 41

- (a) The Revolutionary Command Council shall be convened by an invitation from the Chairman, Vice-Chairman or one-third of its Members, and its meetings shall be presided over by the Chairman or Vice-Chairman, in the presence of the majority of members.
- (b) The meetings and deliberations of the Revolutionary Command Council shall be confidential, and its disposition shall render the doer apt to constitutional responsibility before the Council. The declaration, publication and notification of the Council's resolutions shall be effected through the methods specified in this Constitution.

/The laws....

- (c) The laws and decisions shall be approved by the Council by the absolute majority of the Council members except in the cases otherwise stipulated in the Constitution.

Article 42

The Revolutionary Command Council shall exercise the following powers:

- (a) Promulgation of laws and resolutions having the power of law.
- (b) Promulgation of resolutions in all that is required by the pre-requisites of the implementation of valid laws.

Article 43

The Revolutionary Command Council, by a majority of its members, shall exercise the following powers:

- (a) Admitting the affairs of the Ministry of Defence, public security, formulating laws, and adopting decisions in all that is related thereto from the organisation and specialisation points of view.
- (b) Declaring partial or comprehensive mobilisation, declaration of war, acceptance of armistice and conclusion of reconciliation.
- (c) Approving the general budget of the State as well as the autonomous and investment budgets supplementary thereto, and the final accounts.
- (d) Approving international treaties and agreements.
- (e) Drawing up its articles of association, defining its cadre, admitting its balance sheet, appointing its officials, defining the bonuses and allowances of the Chairman, Vice-Chairman, Members and officials.
- (f) Drawing up the principles related to the trial of its members, in as much as the formation of the court is concerned, and in relation to procedures to be adopted therein.
- (g) Vesting in the Chairman, some of its powers specified in this Constitution, with the exception of legislative powers.

Article 44

Chairman of the Revolutionary Command Council shall undertake:

- (a) Presidency over the Council's meetings, representation thereof and administration of its sessions, as well as ordering disbursements therein.

/Authentication....

- (b) Authentication of all laws and resolutions issued by the Council, to be published in the Official Gazette.
- (c) Supervision over the activities of ministries and institutions in the State, and recalling the Ministers for discussion in matters related to the affairs of their ministries, and also for questioning when necessary, and notifying the Revolutionary Command Council thereof.

Article 45

The Chairman of the Revolutionary Command Council, the Vice-Chairman and Members shall be responsible before the Council for any violation of the Constitution or any infringement of the requirements of the constitutional oath or any action or disposition considered by the Council to be in breach of the honour of responsibility exercised thereby.

CHAPTER (2)

NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

Article 46

The National Assembly shall consist of the representatives of the people from all political, economic and social sectors, and its formation, membership, procedures and powers shall be defined by a special law to be called "The National Assembly Law".

Article 47

The National Assembly shall be convened in two ordinary sessions every year, and the Chairman of the Revolutionary Command Council may convene the Assembly to an extra-ordinary meeting when necessary. The meeting shall be confined to the discussion of subject matters which have necessitated its convention. The sessions of the National Assembly shall be convened and concluded by a decision from the Revolutionary Command Council.

Article 48

The Assembly session shall be public except in the cases when some of them are decided to be secret in accordance with the provisions of the law.

Article 49

- (a) Members of the National Assembly shall not be held responsible for the opinions and proposals they come forward with during their discharge of their obligations.
- (b) No member of the Assembly shall be used or arrested in connection with any crime during the sessions of the Assembly without permission therefrom, except in the cases of actual committance of crime.

/Article 50.....

Article 50

The National Assembly shall undertake:

- (a) Drawing up its Articles of Association, formulating its cadres, approving its statement of accounts and appointing its officials. The bonuses and allowances of the Assembly Chairman and members shall be defined by a law.
- (b) Drawing up the principles of accusation and trial of its members in case of committing any of the acts provided for in Article (55) of this Constitution.

Article 51

The National Assembly shall consider bills of law suggested by the Revolutionary Command Council, within 15 days from the date of their delivery at the chairmanship of the National Assembly. If the assembly approves the bill, it shall be submitted to the President of the Republic for promulgation; however, if the Assembly rejects or amends the bill, it shall be reverted to the Revolutionary Command Council, and if the latter accepts the amendment, it shall be submitted to the President of the Republic for promulgation, and if the Revolutionary Command Council insists on its stand in the second reading, the bill shall be reverted to the Revolutionary Command Council to be considered in a joint session by the two bodies, and the decision adopted by a majority of two-thirds shall be final.

Article 52

The National Assembly shall, within 15 days, consider bills of the laws submitted thereto by the President of the Republic:

- If the Assembly rejects the bill, it shall be reverted to the President of the Republic together with the reasons for such rejection;
- If the Assembly approve the bill, it shall be submitted to the Revolutionary Command Council, and if the Council approves it, it shall be qualified for promulgation, but if the National Assembly amends the bill, it shall be submitted to the Revolutionary Command Council, and become qualified for promulgation if the Council approves it;
- However, if the Revolutionary Command Council rejects, or amends, the bill, it shall be reverted to the National Assembly within a week;
- If the National Assembly admits the opinion of the Revolutionary Command Council, the bill shall be submitted to the President of the Republic for promulgation;
- If the National Assembly insists on its opinion in the second reading, a joint session shall be convened by the two bodies, and the bill approved by a majority of two-thirds shall be final, and be submitted to the President of the Republic for promulgation.

/Article 53.....

Article 53

The National Assembly shall consider the bills of the laws submitted by one-quarter of its members in relation to matters other than military, financial and public security affairs.

- If the Assembly approves the bill, it shall be submitted to the Revolutionary Command Council for consideration within 15 days from the date of its delivery at the Council;
- If the Revolutionary Command Council approves the bill, it shall be submitted to the President of the Republic for promulgation;
- If the Revolutionary Command Council rejects the bill, it shall be reverted to the National Assembly;
- If the Revolutionary Command Council amends the bill, it shall be reverted to the National Assembly;
- If the latter insists on its opinion in the second reading, a joint session shall be held by the two bodies under the Chairmanship of the Chairman or the Vice-Chairman of the Revolutionary Command Council, and the bill approved by the majority of two-thirds shall be final and be submitted to the President of the Republic for promulgation.

Article 54

- (a) Vice-Presidents, Ministers and the officials holding ministerial ranks may attend the sessions of National Assembly and participate in its deliberations.
- (b) The National Assembly, after approval of the President of the Republic, may recall Ministers for investigation and inquiry.

Article 55

The Chairman of the National Assembly and each member therein shall be responsible before the Assembly for any violation of the Constitution, or any infringement of the requirements of the constitutional oath or for any action or conduct considered by the National Assembly to be in breach of the honour of responsibility exercised thereby.

CHAPTER 3

PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC

Article 56

- (a) The President of the Republic is the Head of State and Supreme Commander of the armed forces.

He undertakes the exercise of the executive power directly or by the assistance of Vice-Presidents and Ministers, in accordance with the provisions of this Constitution.

/The President....

- (b) The President of the Republic issues the decrees required for the exercise of his powers provided for in this Constitution.

Article 57

The President of the Republic shall exercise the following powers:

- (a) Safeguarding the independence of the country, the unity of its territories, the protection of its internal and external security and protecting the rights and liberties of all citizens.
- (b) Declaring partial or total state of emergency, and terminating the same in accordance with law.
- (c) Appointing Vice-Presidents and Ministers and relieving them from their portfolios.
- (d) Appointing judges, magistrates and all civil and military officials of the State, promoting them, terminating their services and placing them on pension, and granting military ranks and decorations in accordance with the law.
- (e) Preparing the ordinary budget of the State, the autonomous and investment budgets appended thereto, and appropriating the final accounts therefor, and submitting the same to the National Assembly for deliberations.
- (f) Preparing the general plan of the State in all the economic and social affairs, drawn up by competent ministries, and submitting the same to the National Assembly.
- (g) Concluding and granting loans, and supervising the organisation and administration of money and credit.
- (h) Supervising all public utilities, official and semi-official institutions and Public Sector administrations.
- (i) Orienting and supervising the activities of ministries and public institutions, and coordinating the same.
- (j) Holding negotiations and concluding international agreements and treaties.
- (k) Accepting diplomatic and international envoys to Iraq, and demanding the withdrawal of the same.
- (l) Appointing and accrediting Iraqi diplomatic representatives to Arab and foreign capitals and to the international conferences and organisations.
- (m) Declaring special amnesty and approving the execution sentences.

/Supervising....

- (n) Supervising the sound implementation of the constitution, laws, resolutions, legal judgements and development projects all over the Republic of Iraq.
- (o) Vesting some of his constitutional powers to one or more of the Vice-Presidents.

Article 58

Vice-Presidents and Ministers shall be responsible before the President of the Republic for their actions, and he may refer any of them to the court of justice for trial in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution, in connection with their institutional fallacies committed thereby, and for the exploitation of their powers or violence in its utilisation.

Article 59

Vice-Presidents and Ministers shall, prior to commencing their obligations, undertake the following oath before the President:

"I swear by Almighty God, my honour and doctrine, to safeguard the Republican regime, adhere to its Constitution and laws, dedicate the interests of the people, safeguard the independence of the country, the security and unity of its territories, and work with every devotion and sincerity for the realisation of the objectives of the people."

CHAPTER 4

JURISDICTION

Article 60

- (a) Jurisdiction is independent, being subject to no power except that of the law.
- (b) The right of legal suing is guaranteed to all citizens.
- (c) The law shall define the manner of forming courts of justice, their grades and specialisations, and also the conditions of appointing, transferring promoting and pensioning of judges and magistrates.

Article 61

The law shall define the positions of the Attorney General, the system and manner of appointing Attorney Generals and Vice-Attorney Generals, as well as the conditions of their transfer, promotion, payment and placement on pension.

PART V

SPECIAL PROVISIONS

Article 62

- (a) Members of Revolutionary Command Council, or Vice-Presidents of the Republic or Ministers shall only be Iraqi by birth and from two Iraqi parents by birth also.

/Members.....

- (b) Members of Revolutionary Command Council, Vice-Presidents and Ministers, during the undertaking of their official portfolios, may not embark on any profession, commercial business, or purchase state property or sell some of their property thereto, or take commission therefrom.

Article 63

- (a) Provisions of this law shall remain in force pending the promulgation of the permanent Constitution.
- (b) This Constitution may not be amended except by the Revolutionary Command Council, and by a majority of two-thirds of its members.

Article 64

- (a) The laws shall be published in the Official Gazette and be put into effect as from the date of their publication, except when otherwise provided for.
- (b) The laws shall have no retroactive effect except when otherwise provided for, and this exception shall not cover the punitive laws and the laws of taxes and financial duties.

Article 65

This Interim Constitution and all the laws and legal provisions shall be promulgated and implemented in the name of the people.

Article 66

All the laws and resolutions of Revolutionary Command Council, valid prior to the promulgation of this Constitution shall be maintained in force, and no amendment thereto, or cancellation thereof, may be made except in the manner specified in this Constitution.

Article 67

The Chairman of the Revolutionary Command Council shall undertake the promulgation of this Constitution and publication thereof in the Official Gazette.

TOP COPY *Wright*

GRS 60

PRIORITY

CYPHER CAT A

RESTRICTED

FM BAGHDAD 210830Z OCT.

RECEIVED IN REGISTRY NO 35 21 OCT 1974 NB R 1/4
--

R E S T R I C T E D.

TO PRIORITY FCO TEL NO 378 OF 21 OCTOBER 1974.

FOLLOWING FOR WRIGHT, MED.

DEATH OF IRAQI FOREIGN MINISTER.

1. ALTHOUGH THE SECRETARY OF STATE HAD NEVER MET TAQA
I HOPE THAT HE WILL BE WILLING TO SEND A MESSAGE OF
CONDOLENCE TO THE ACTING FOREIGN MINISTER, HISHAM AL SHAWI.
I HAVE OF COURSE WRITTEN FORMALLY BUT A MESSAGE FROM
THE SECRETARY OF STATE WOULD GO DOWN WELL.

GRAHAM

BT

F I L E S

MED

PS

PS/MR ENNALS

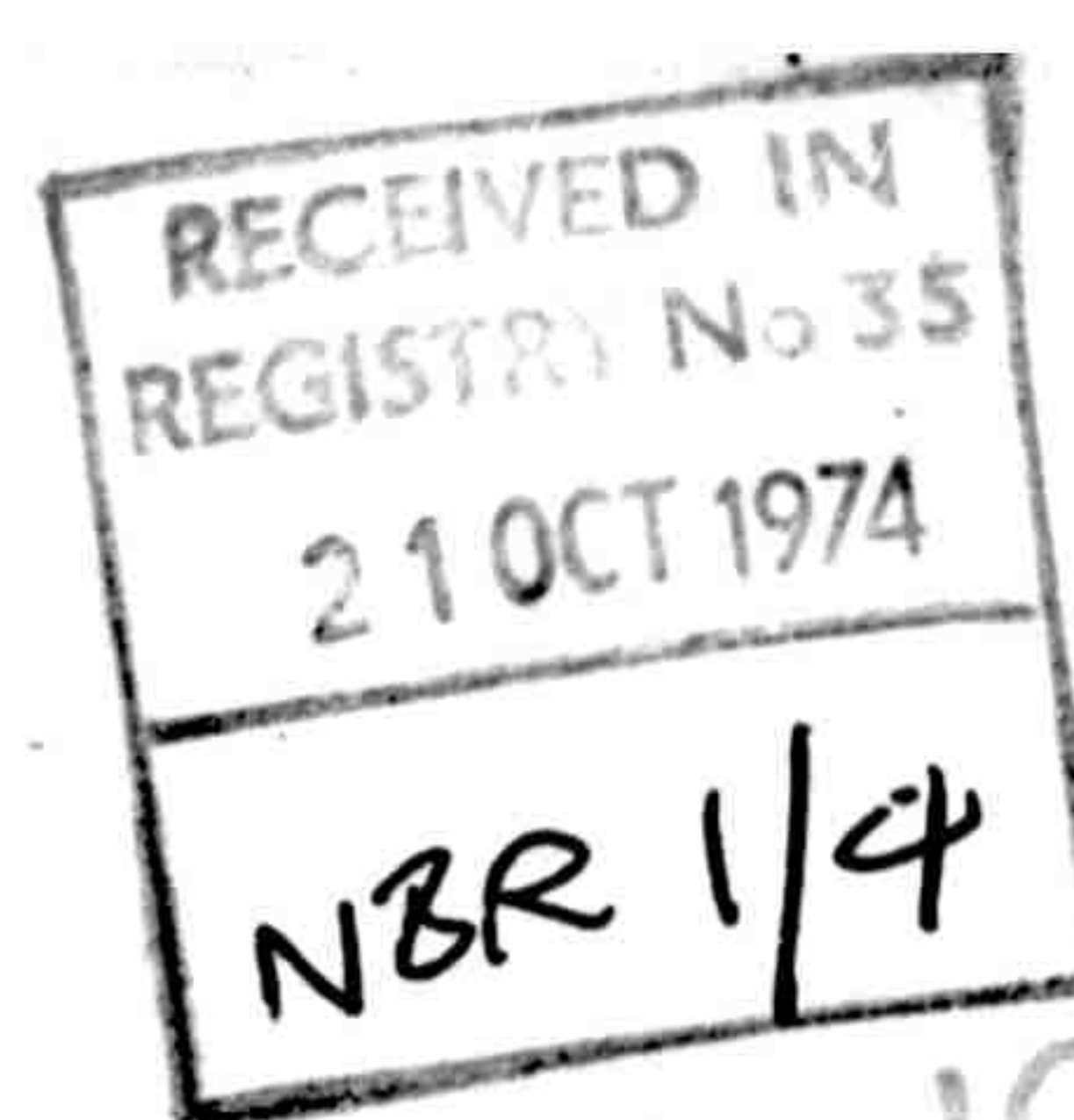
PS/PUS

MR CAMPBELL

MR WEIR

RESTRICTED

S E C R E T



IMMEDIATE
CYPHER/CAT A

GPS 280/4

FM BAGHDAD 201100Z OCT

SECRET

DESKBY 210600Z OCT

TO IMMEDIATE MODUK TELNO 201100Z OCT/1974 INFO ROUTINE FCO TEHRAN
AND KUWAIT.

DIG/FOH

MINISTER OF DEFENCE.

MY FOH 161020Z REFERS (NOT TO ALL)

ONE. APPROX 75 SENIOR ARMY OFFICERS, ONLY TWO IAF OFFICERS AND ALL DAS WAITED AT OFFICERS' CLUB ON 19 OCT MORNING TO CONGRATULATE SAADOUN HAMMADI, ACTING MIN OF DEFENCE ON THE OCCASION OF ID AL FITR.

TWO. PRESIDENT BAKR UNEXPECTEDLY ARRIVED INSTEAD AND ACCEPTED OUR GREETINGS INDIVIDUALLY. THIS IS THE FIRST TIME THAT ANYONE HERE CAN RECALL THE PRESIDENT COMING TO THE OFFICERS' CLUB FOR ID.

THREE. SENIOR ARMY OFFICERS QUESTIONED ON THIS, REPLIED THAT HAMMADI HAD ONLY BEEN ACTING MIN OF DEF FOR A FEW DAYS AND THE PRESIDENT WAS THE MIN. OF DEF.

FOUR. THURSDAY'S BAGHDAD OBSERVER GAVE THE TEXT OF THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE TO THE ARMY BANNER HEADLINES QUOTE BAKR : OUR ARMY THE HOPE OF THE ARAB NATION''.

/FIVE. FOLLOWING

S E C R E T

S E C R E T

FIVE. FOLLOWING POSSIBLE EXPLANATIONS CIRCULATING IN BAGHDAD:
ALPHA. A NEED TO DEMONSTRATE SUPPORT FOR THE ARMY.
BRAVO. THE TURKISH MA BELIEVES ANNOUNCEMENT OF HAMMADI AS
ACTING MIN OF DEF DAY BEFORE ID WAS SECURITY EXERCISE TO
MAKE PEOPLE BELIEVE HAMMADI RATHER THAN BAKR WOULD ATTEND
OFFICERS' CLUB.

CHARLIE. POSSIBLE POWER STRUGGLE WITH SADDAM'S APPOINTEE
TO MIN OF DEF BEING OUTMANOEUVRED BY BAKR.

FIVE. WE DO NOT HAVE SUFFICIENT KNOWLEDGE TO JUDGE
WHICH OF FOUR BRAVO AND CHARLIE ABOVE IN ANY WAY APPROACHES
THE TRUTH BUT BELIEVE IT COULD INDICATE THERE WILL BE NO
CHANGE IN POLICY.

GRAHAM

~~F I L E S~~

MED
DEFENCE D
MR WEIR
MR THOMSON

S E C R E T

IMMEDIATE
CYPHER/CAT A

GPS 280/4

FM BAGHDAD 201100Z OCT

SECRET



DESKBY 210600Z OCT

TO IMMEDIATE MODUK TELNO 201100Z OCT/1974/INFO ROUTINE FCO TEHRAN
AND KUWAIT.

DIG/FOH

MINISTER OF DEFENCE.

MY FOH 161020Z REFERS (NOT TO ALL)

ONE. APPROX 75 SENIOR ARMY OFFICERS, ONLY TWO IAF OFFICERS AND ALL DAS WAITED AT OFFICERS' CLUB ON 19 OCT MORNING TO CONGRATULATE SAADOUN HAMMADI, ACTING MIN OF DEFENCE ON THE OCCASION OF ID AL FITR.

TWO. PRESIDENT BAKR UNEXPECTEDLY ARRIVED INSTEAD AND ACCEPTED OUR GREETINGS INDIVIDUALLY. THIS IS THE FIRST TIME THAT ANYONE HERE CAN RECALL THE PRESIDENT COMING TO THE OFFICERS' CLUB FOR ID.

THREE. SENIOR ARMY OFFICERS QUESTIONED ON THIS, REPLIED THAT HAMMADI HAD ONLY BEEN ACTING MIN OF DEF FOR A FEW DAYS AND THE PRESIDENT WAS THE MIN. OF DEF.

FOUR. THURSDAY'S BAGHDAD OBSERVER GAVE THE TEXT OF THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE TO THE ARMY BANNER HEADLINES QUOTE BAKR : OUR ARMY THE HOPE OF THE ARAB NATION''.

/FIVE. FOLLOWING

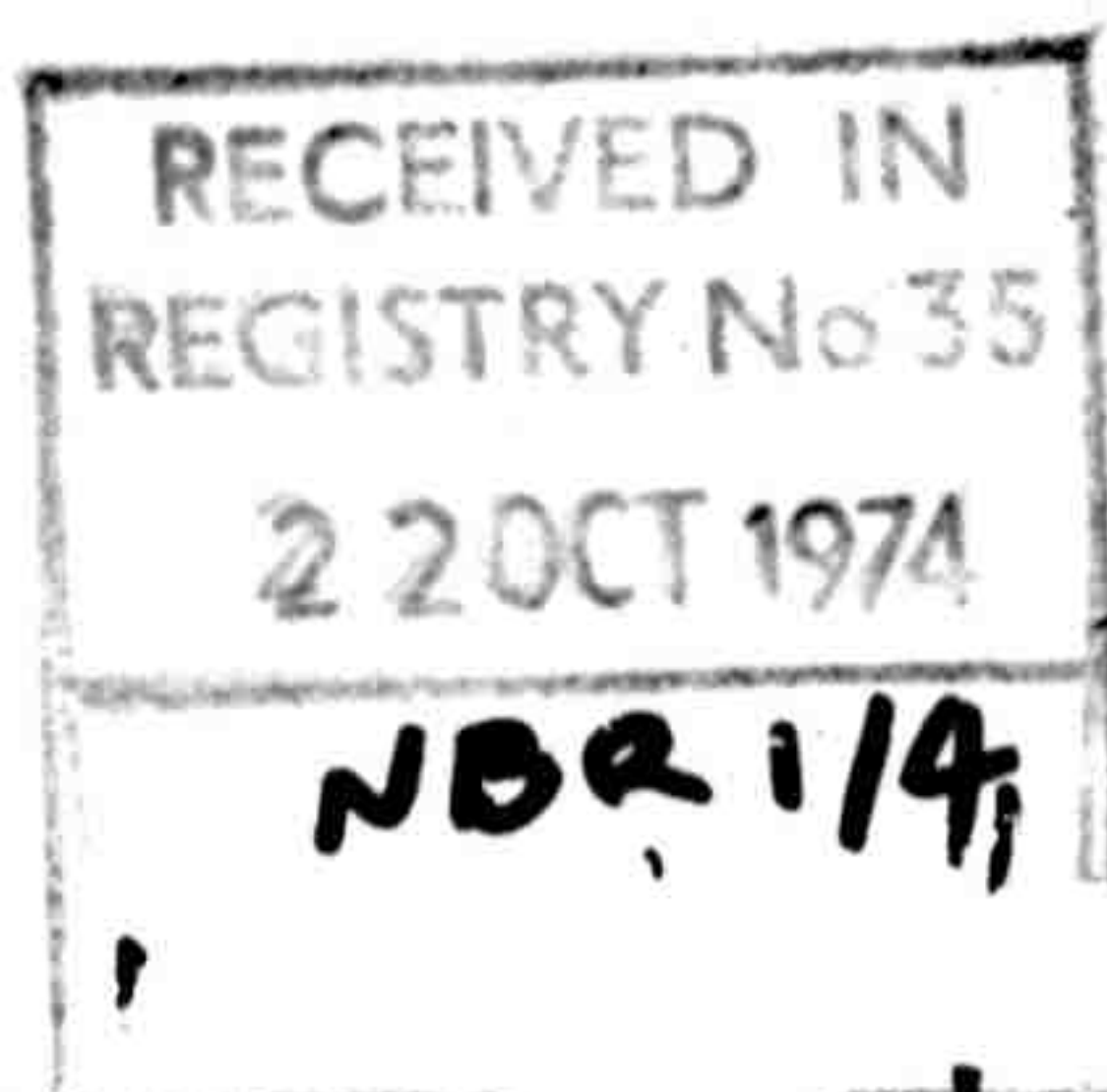
S E C R E T

GPS 62
PRIORITY

ENCLAIR

FM FCO 210945Z

UNCLASSIFIED



TOP COPY

19

TO PRIORITY BAGHDAD TELNO 263 OF 21/10 / 74.

(25) NBR 3/548/4

MYTELNO. 262: IRAQI FOREIGN MINISTER.

1. WE HAVE SEEN FROM AGENCY REPORTS THAT THE IRAQI FOREIGN MINISTER DIED IN RABAT ON 20 OCTOBER.

2. PLEASE CONVEY APPROPRIATE CONDOLENCES TO THE IRAQI GOVERNMENT ON MY BEHALF. I SHOULD BE GRATEFUL IF YOU WOULD ALSO CONVEY SUITABLE PERSONAL CONDOLENCES ON BEHALF OF WEIR AND WRIGHT TO ZEBALDI, WHO ACCOMPANIED TAQA ON HIS VISIT TO LONDON.

CALLAGHAN

FILES

MED

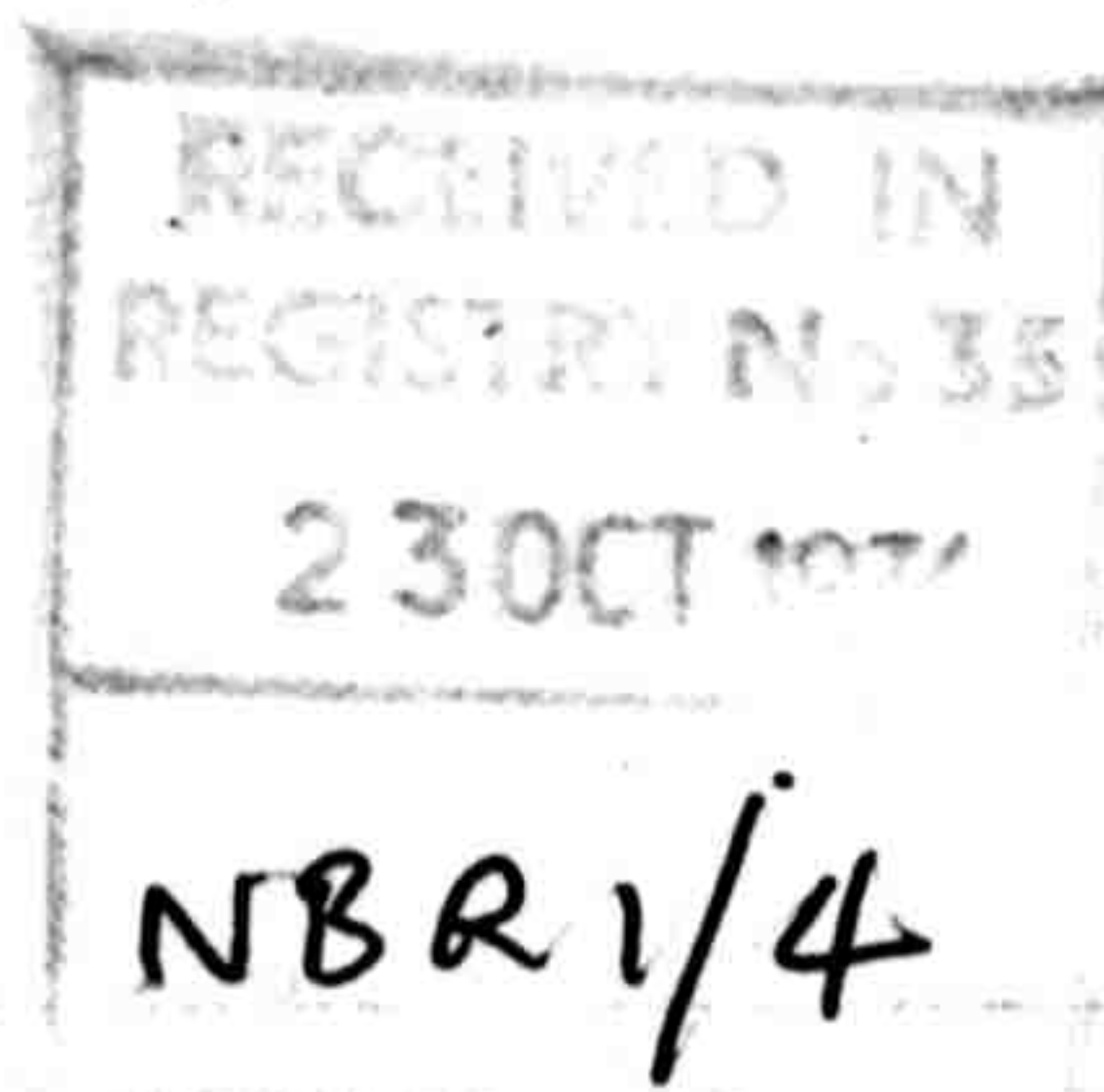
PS

PS TO MR ENNALS

MR WEIR

MR CAMPBELL

TOP COPY



GRS 25

RESTRICTED.

CYPHER CAT A

FM FCO 221800Z

NBR 21/4
fa

(NBR 1/4)

RESTRICTED 17

TO ROUTINE BAGHDAD TELNO 267 OF 22 OCTOBER. 1974.

YOUR TEL 378: TAQA

YOU WILL NOW HAVE SEEN MY TELNO 263. YOU SHOULD ALSO KNOW THAT ON 22 OCTOBER THE MINISTER OF STATE SIGNED, ON MY BEHALF, THE BOOK OF CONDOLENCE AT THE IRAQI EMBASSY.

CALLAGHAN

FILES

MED.

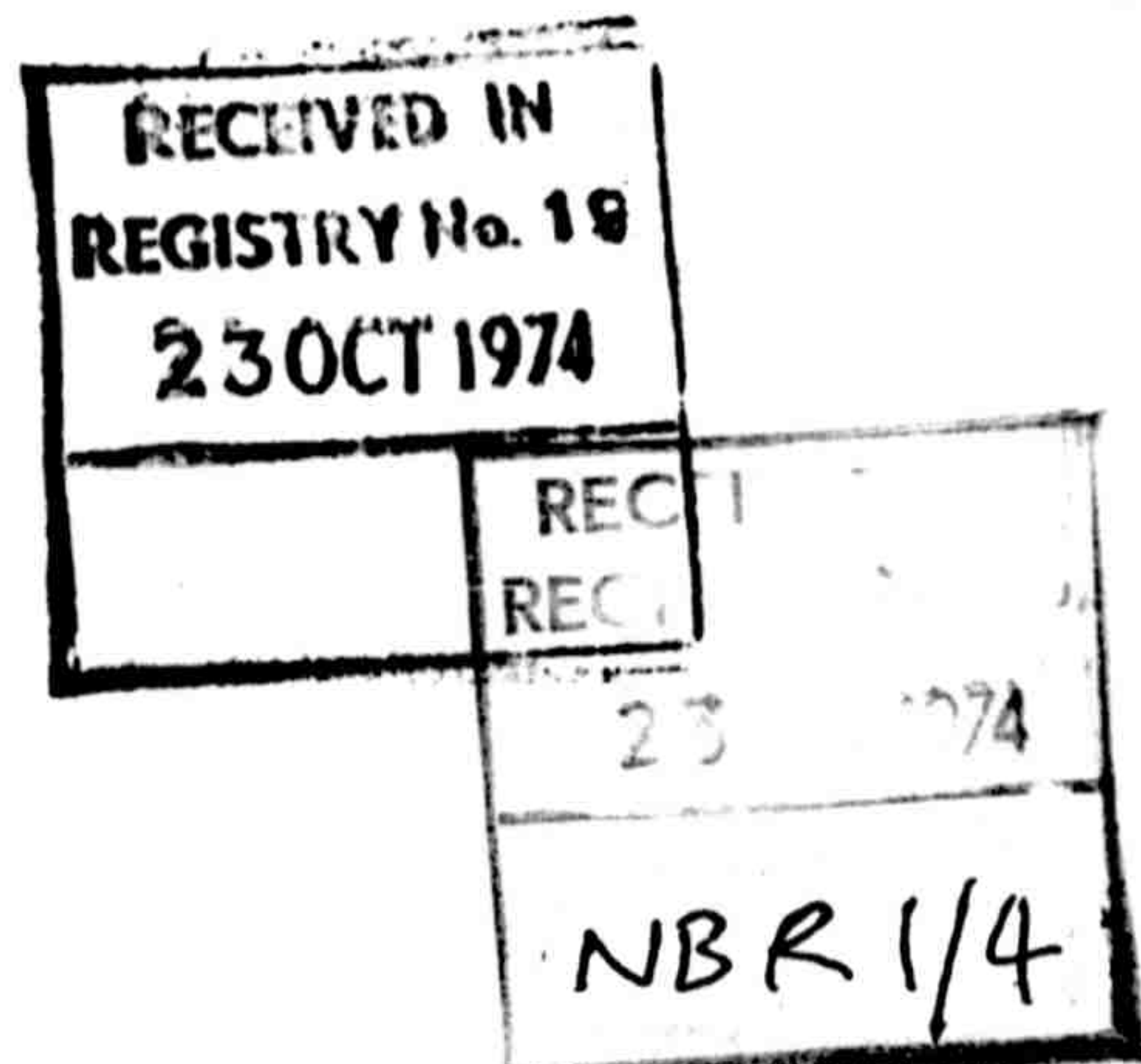
PS

PSJ MR ENNALS

MR WEIR

MR CAMPBELL

RESTRICTED

**EMBASSY OF THE
REPUBLIC OF IRAQ**21, QUEEN'S GATE,
LONDON SW7 5JG

No. 656


The Embassy of the Republic of Iraq presents its compliments to the Foreign and Commonwealth Office and regrets to inform them of the death of the Minister of Foreign Affairs His Excellency Mr. Shathel Taqa.

A book of condolence will be open for signature on the first floor at the Embassy of the Republic of Iraq, from 22nd October until the 24th of October between the hours 11 a.m. and 4 p.m.

The Embassy of the Republic of Iraq renews to the Foreign and Commonwealth Office the assurances of its highest consideration.

Foreign and Commonwealth Office,
London.

London, 21st October 1974





RECEIVED IN
REGISTRY No 35
29 OCT 1974
NBR 1/4

CONFIDENTIAL

BRITISH EMBASSY
BAGHDAD

24 October 1974

P R H Wright Esq
Middle East Department
F 40

A. G. J. 29/10
A. L. 29/10
A. B. 29/10

Dear Patrick,

DEATH OF THE IRAQI FOREIGN MINISTER

1. As I said in my telegram No 378, which crossed FCO telegram No 263, I had already written to the Acting Minister of Foreign Affairs to convey condolences formally on Shadhil Taqa's death and I thought it best to convey the Secretary of State's orally rather than add another letter.
2. Shadhil Taqa's death came as a great shock to people here. His body was flown home in a special aircraft provided by the Moroccan Government and arrived in Baghdad on the morning of Monday 21 October. The Diplomatic Corps had been warned the night before to hold themselves ready to take part in the ceremonies and accordingly we were all mustered behind the bier by 12.45 pm on the 21st. Sharply at 1 o'clock we set off in serried ranks to the Death March in Saul, which was repeated over and over again while we covered in very slow time the mile or so to a new mosque near the main railway station between Mansour and Markh. At the mosque the coffin was carried up the steps into the entrance and the official mourners and many of the Muslim members of the Diplomatic Corps gathered in front of it for prayers, the rest of us standing in a more or less respectful throng in the courtyard (the Bulgarian Ambassador smoking a cigarette). After the prayers, the coffin was once again removed and taken to what is now called the 14 Ramadan Mosque, by the grave of the Unknown Soldier, for burial. The Corps shuffled past the official mourners, including the Acting Foreign Minister, muttering their condolences and then dispersed.
3. Official mourning took the form of a fatiha, held in the 14 Ramadan Mosque each evening from 5 to 8 pm on the Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday. There was some discussion whether members of the Diplomatic Corps should attend on any of these 3 days. After consulting my Muslim colleagues, I decided that having taken part in the funeral march and taking into account

/that



CONFIDENTIAL

that the fatiha was being held in a mosque, I should not. I shall take an opportunity to mention my reasons just in case my absence might have been misunderstood though I think I am in fairly strong company.

4. You have the advantage of me in that you met Shadhil Taqa before his death: by all accounts he was a helpful Minister from the point of view of foreign diplomats and with him one could discuss matters unemotionally and sensibly. I do not think that his death will affect policy, but the character of his successor, when he is named, may well affect the style in which that policy is pursued. One name that has been tipped is the new Under Secretary, Muhammad al Hadithi, until recently Iraqi Ambassador in Kuwait and said to be a protege of Saddam Husain. Another name is that of the Minister of Health, Dr Izzat Mustafa, who apparently was in the running earlier this year when Shadhil Taqa was appointed but who was alleged at that time not to have wanted the job since he had too many other Governmental and Party commitments. He is indeed a considerable Party figure, a member of the Revolutionary Command Council and the Council's Economic Affairs Bureau. Another two names that I have heard in this context are those of Abdul Fattah al Yasim, a member of the regional leadership of the Party, who apparently also was in the running earlier this year, and the present Ambassador in Moscow, Murtada Said Abdul Baqi. All this, however, is merely diplomatic gossip. There has been no press comment or speculation and we shall only know for certain, of course, when the appointment is made. Meanwhile, the senior Under-Secretary in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Abdul Husain al Jamali, who with Hadithi's appointment became responsible for Arab affairs, flew to Rabat on 21 October to take Shadhil Taqa's place at the Arab Foreign Ministers' meeting.

previous
M.F.A

Yours ever
JAG

J A N Graham

CONFIDENTIAL

UNCLASSIFIED

23



BRITISH EMBASSY

BAGHDAD

29 October 1974 *encl*

G S Burton Esq
Middle East Department
Foreign and Commonwealth Office
LONDON

RECEIVED IN
REGISTRY No 15

- 4 NOV 1974

NBR 1/4

See Graham.

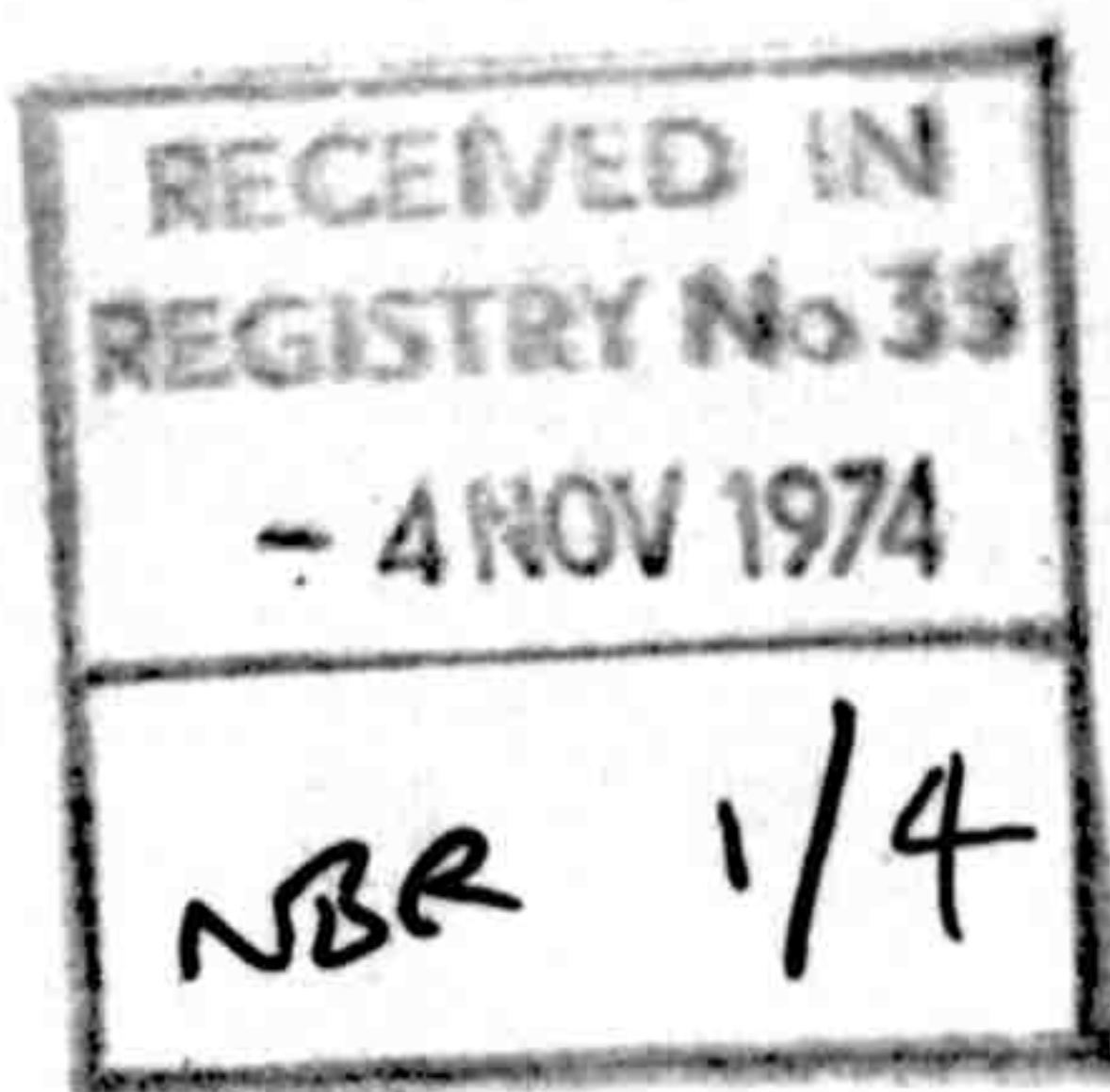
LAW OF EXPROPRIATION

*a Claims Dept
Legal Advisers
DVB 6/4
Copy + enc to
Mr. Bannerman 4/XI
DVB
Enter 250 4/11
per*

1. The Official Gazette of 14 September published an Amendment to the 1970 Law of Expropriation. I enclose a translation of the Amendment and also of the original Law, since I do not know if this was ever reported.

*if you
for Temple
(K D Temple*

UNCLASSIFIED



RESTRICTED



BRITISH EMBASSY

BAGHDAD

29 October 1974

(24)

G S Burton Esq
Middle East Department
Foreign and Commonwealth Office
LONDON

Copy Mr. Banner - (forwarded)
✓ OVB 4/XI
Enteg...
pa

See below.

12TH CONFERENCE OF ARAB LAWYERS

1. On 25 October, President Bakr opened the 12th Conference of Arab Lawyers in Baghdad, which about 1,200 lawyers are attending. The President's inaugural speech was a fairly tough one, but following the same broad lines as the late Shadhil Taqa's speech at the UN General Assembly. The main point of his speech was that, despite appearances, the imperialists, and especially the United States, "cannot possibly be expected to have undergone a change of heart towards the Arabs". Therefore, "the right path which leads to compelling America and its like to rethink its position, is our perseverance in unremitting struggle".
2. The agenda of the Conference, although presumably with some legal topics ~~are~~ well, includes discussion on Iranian designs in the Gulf Area, and Arab investments in Europe and America. The political aspect of the Conference was underlined by the sending of a delegation, led by Mudher al-Azzawi, who is Chairman of the Conference, to Rabat to submit a memorandum confirming demands for consolidation of the militant Arab front and rejecting capitulationist settlements.
3. Among the visitors to the Conference is an observer from Amnesty International, Mrs Marie Jose Brodia (I am not sure of the spelling) who later gave an interview to the Iraqi News Agency. In it she praised Iraq, especially the Legislative and Executive Councils for Kurdistan, and spoke of the Arab detainees in Israeli jails, and about the Shah's regime, which she described as one of the cruellest regimes in the world. One wonders if she, or Amnesty International as a whole, has ever tried to find out conditions of detention of political prisoners in Iraq!

James ...
K D Temple

K D Temple

RESTRICTED

RESTRICTED

(25)



BRITISH EMBASSY

BAGHDAD

30 October 1974

G S Burton Esq
Middle East Department
Foreign and Commonwealth Office
LONDON

*Enty 6/4
RBS
pe*

Dear Sir,

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL

(24) -

1. Further to my letter of 29 October about the Lawyers' Conference, the Ambassador has heard that the Amnesty observer (whose correct name is Mme Marie Jose Protais) was furious over the account which appeared in the "Baghdad Observer" a day or two ago of what she was alleged to have said. Today's "Baghdad Observer" gives a fuller and much more moderately-toned account of the same interview, and this may perhaps be the result of a protection by Mme Protais.

Yours ever,

K B Temple

RESTRICTED

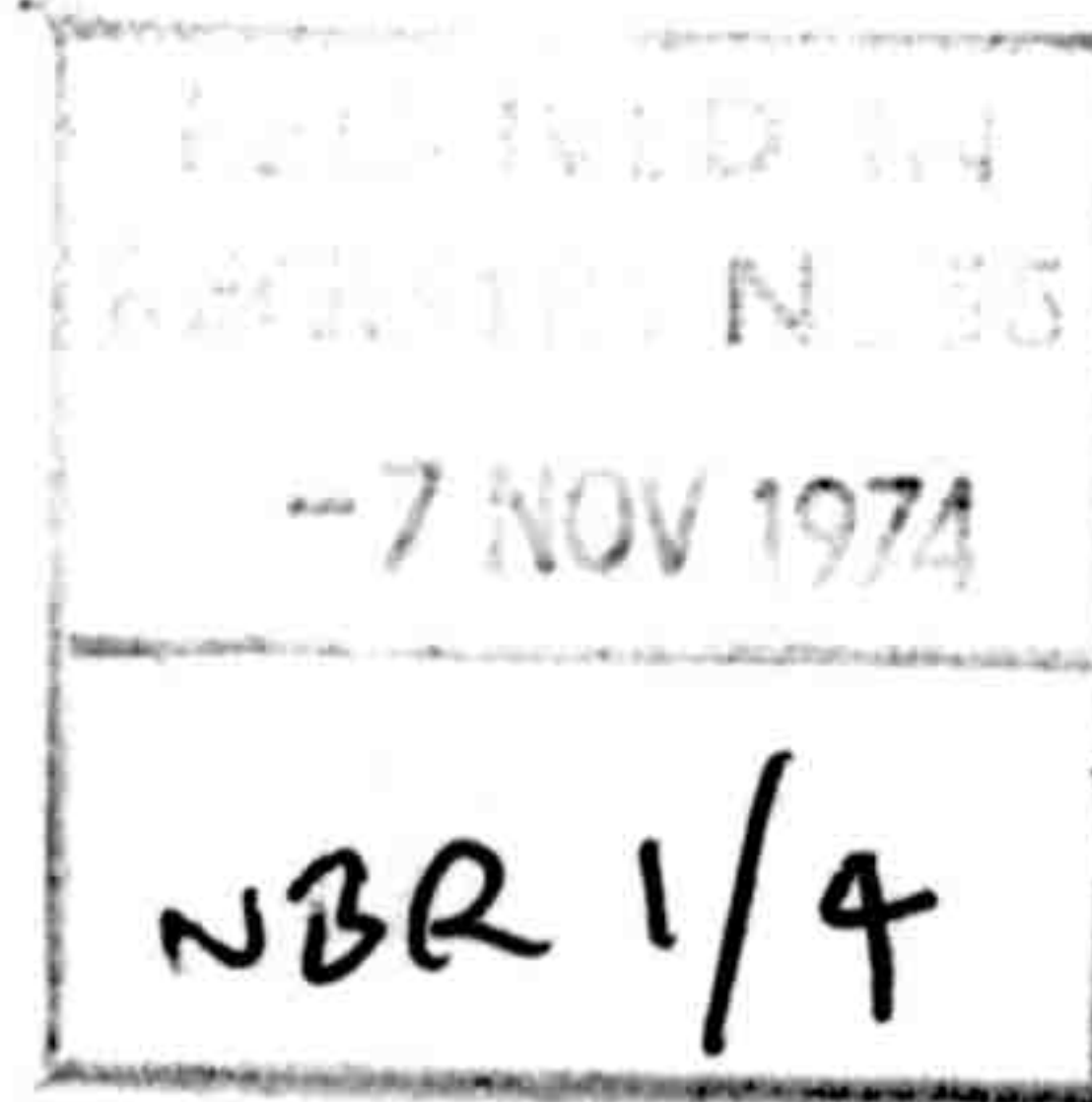
RESTRICTED



BRITISH EMBASSY

MOSCOW

6 November 1974



Enter
15/8/11
pa

G S Burton Esq
MED
FCO

Dear Burton,

Iraqi Communists

--- An Iraqi communist party delegation headed by Mohammed had talks with Ponomarev and Ulianovsky in Moscow on 29 October. I enclose a translation of the communique published in the central press on 30 October. You will note especially the reference to the significance of "constructive co-operation" between the ICP and the Ba'athist party and to the importance of a "just democratic solution" to the Kurdish problem, both of which reflect, predictably, Soviet preoccupation with the importance of preserving the National Progressive Front and avoiding provocation of the Ba'ath. I have seen no other details of the delegation's activities.

Yours ever,
Roger Bone

R B Bone

cc: Chancery BAGHDAD

RESTRICTED

IZVESTIA, 30 OCTOBER

MEETING IN THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

On 29 October in the Central Committee of the Communist Party a meeting took place between B N Ponomarev, Candidate Member of the Politburo and Secretary of the Central Committee, and R A Ulianovsky, Deputy Head of the International Department of the Central Committee, with A Mohammed, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Iraqi Communist Party.

During the meeting, which took place in a warm, friendly atmosphere, an exchange of views took place on international problems and also on questions of Soviet-Iraqi relations and on the development of friendly ties between the Soviet Communist Party and the Iraq Communist Party.

The Soviet representatives gave information about the activity of the CPSU, and of the Soviet people in implementation of the decisions of the 24th Party Congress, concerning the progress in the building of communism in our country. Especial attention was given to the efforts of the Party and the Soviet Government aimed at the implementation of the Programme of Peace adopted by the 24th Congress of the CPSU.

A Mohammed highly valued the success of the Soviet people in the building of communism, the Leninist policies of the CPSU, aimed at the strengthening of the principles of peaceful co-existence of states with differing social structures, at detente, at support for national liberation movements, and at strengthening peace and security for the peoples.

For his part, A Mohammed gave information about the progressive development of the Iraq Republic, about the activity of the Iraq Communist Party in the Progressive National Patriotic Front of Iraq.

He mentioned with satisfaction the constructive co-operation of the Iraq Communist Party with the ruling Ba'athist Party in Iraq in the implementation of progressive socio-economic reforms, in the resolution of the Kurdish problem on the basis of the law concerning autonomy for Iraqi Kurds.

A Mohammed expressed gratitude to the CPSU and to the Soviet people for the continual and many sided assistance to the Arab peoples in their struggle against imperialism and reaction against Israeli aggression.

The representatives of the CPSU welcomed the desire of the Iraq Communist Party for the strengthening of unity of the national progressive forces, for a just democratic solution to the Kurdish question in the interests of the whole Iraqi people - Arabs and Kurds.

The sides exchanged opinions about the situation in the Middle East. They were unanimous that a lasting and just peace in the Middle East can only be established as a result of the withdrawal of Israeli forces from all Arab territory occupied by Israel, and the implementation of the lawful national rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including its right to the creation of its own national home.

Emphasis was given to the need for the earliest, and effective, renewal of the work of the Geneva Conference, with participation by all the interested sides including the Palestinians.

Representatives of the two sides emphasised the importance and the need for the strengthening of the unity of the Arab States and peoples in the struggle against Israeli aggression, for the strengthening of their friendship with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

The representatives of the CPSU and the Iraq Communist Party advocated the further development and strengthening of relations of friendship and co-operation between the peoples of the Soviet Union and the Iraq Republic on the firm basis of the Soviet-Iraq Agreement, for the strengthening of ties between the two fraternal parties.

Hammadi has now
been appointed.

Mr Wright

See Tel. enclosed. CONFIDENTIAL

GRS 100
IMMEDIATE
CYPHER CAT A

FM BAGHDAD 120810Z NOV

CONFIDENTIAL

[Handwritten signature]
12/31
[Handwritten signature]
Mr. Highmore

We spoke. I have
seen no report from H.M.A.
There has been no report
hitherto that Hammadi
might be in the running.

TO IMMEDIATE FCO TELNO 414 OF 12 NOVEMBER. 1974.

PLEASE PASS FOLLOWING TO

IN PC 7. N 35 12 NOV 1974 NBR 1/4
--

491

H.M.A. reported speculation
about Hadithi, Mustafa
(Min of Health), Yasin (RCC)
and Baqi. *[Handwritten signature]*

FOR MCPHERSON FROM PAWSON

IN MAJOR GOVERNMENT RESHUFFLE ANNOUNCED LAST NIGHT HAMMADI 12/X1
HAS BECOME FOREIGN MINISTER AND TAYEHA ABDUL KARIM IS MINISTER
OF OIL. LATTER WAS FORMERLY HEAD OF ECONOMICS BUREAU OF
R.C.C.

DO NOT YET KNOW HOW THIS WILL REACT ON GOVERNMENT'S REQUEST
TO RESUME DISCUSSIONS. WHEN I CALL ON NEW MINISTER, PRESUMABLY
WITHIN NEXT FEW DAYS, WOULD LIKE TO KNOW EARLIEST DATE ON
WHICH DISCUSSIONS COULD BEGIN, IF MINISTER IS INSISTENT
ON EARLY START. PLEASE ADVISE SOONEST.

GRAHAM

[NOT PASSED BY COD]

FILES
MED
ENERGY D
MR CAMPBELL
MR WEIR

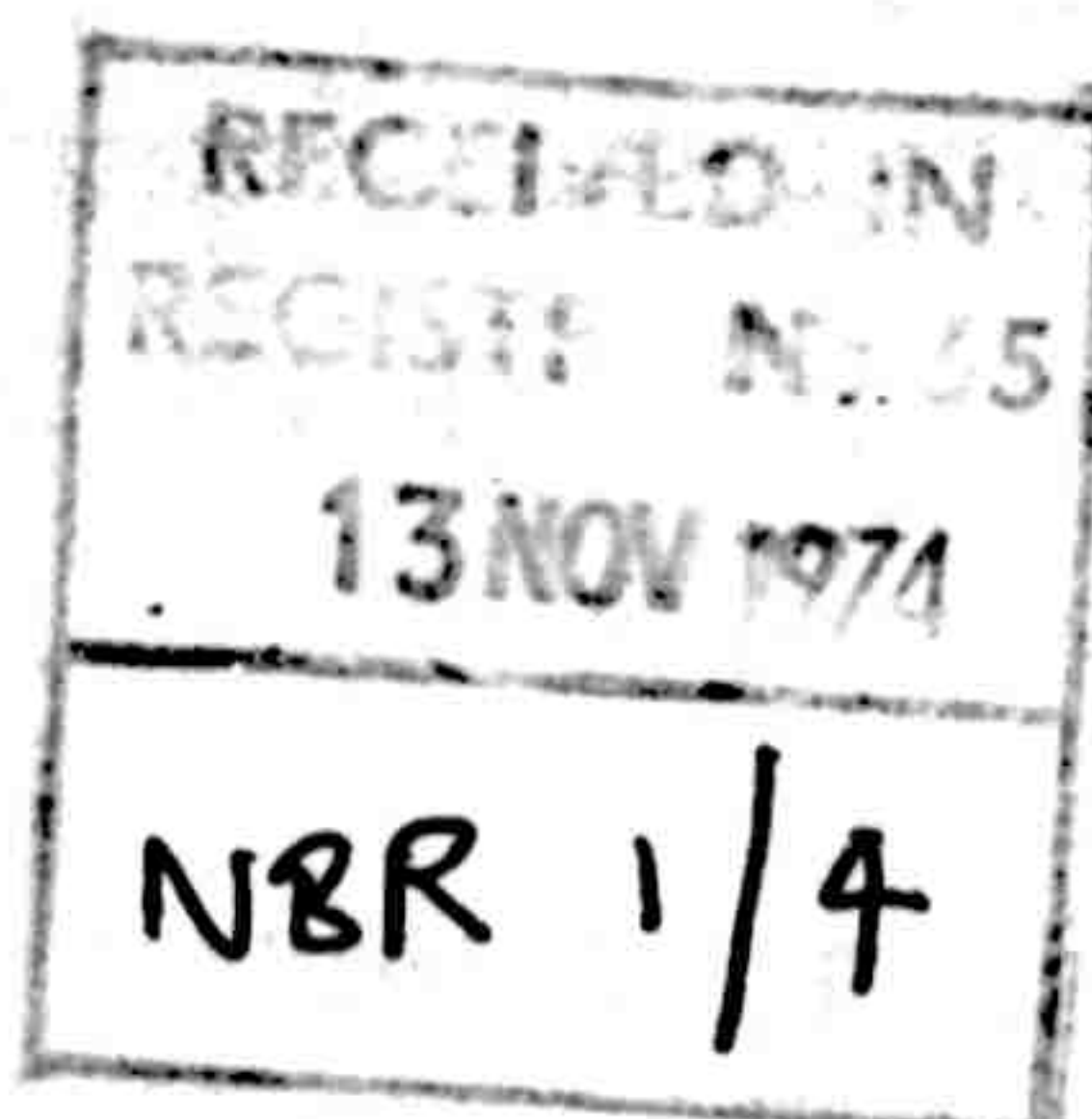
CONFIDENTIAL

Enter (1 way internal)
PC. *[Handwritten signature]* 12/X1

GRS 350/3

EN CLAIR

FM BAGHDAD 121050Z NOV 1974



(28)

UNCLASSIFIED

TO ROUTINE FCO TELNO 418 OF 12 NOVEMBER¹⁹⁷⁴ INFO ROUTINE KUWAIT AND TEHRAN.

SAVING AMMAN BEIRUT DAMASCUS CAIRO AND JEDDA.

IRAQ MINISTERIAL CHANGES.

TC
COPY
18/20/4
pa

1. UNDER 5 REPUBLICAN DECREES ISSUED YESTERDAY 11 NOVEMBER THE FOLLOWING MINISTERIAL CHANGES ARE MADE (FORMER POST AND LEADING PERSONALITIES 1972 REFERENCE, IF ANY, IN BRACKETS):

TAYEH ABDUL KARIM - MINISTER OF OIL AND MINERAL RESOURCES

NAIM HADDAD - MINISTER OF YOUTH

MUHAMMAD MAHJOUB - MINISTER OF EDUCATION

GHANIM ABDUL JALIL - MINISTER OF HIGHER EDUCATION AND SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH

TARIQ AZIZ - MINISTER OF INFORMATION

MUNDHER AL SHAWI - MINISTER OF JUSTICE

HASSAN FAHMI JUM'AH - MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE AND AGRARIAN REFORM

SAADI IBRAHIM - MINISTER OF FINANCE

IZZAT IBRAHIM AL DOURI - MINISTER OF INTERIOR (MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE AND AGRARIAN REFORM, LPR 50)

SAADOUN GHAIKAN - MINISTER OF COMMUNICATIONS (MINISTER OF INTERIOR, LPR 77)

SAADOUN HAMMADI - MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS (MINISTER OF OIL AND MINERAL RESOURCES, LPR 78)

/AHMAD.

AHMAD ABDUL SATTAR AL JAWARI - MINISTER OF STATE (MINISTER OF EDUCATION, LPR 25)

RASHID AL RIFAI'E - MINISTER OF WORKS AND HOUSING (MINISTER OF COMMUNICATIONS, LPR 75)

(MINISTER OF INFORMATION, HAMID AL JIBOURI - MINISTER OF STATE (LPR 40)

ADNAN AYOUB SABRI - MINISTER OF TRANSPORT (MINISTER OF YOUTH LPR 24)

HISHAM AL SHAWI - MINISTER OF HIGHER EDUCATION AND SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH AND ACTING MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS)

ABDUL SATTAR TAHIR SHARIF - MINISTER OF MUNICIPALITIES (MINISTER OF WORKS AND HOUSING).

2. TAHA AL JAZRAWI IS ACTING MINISTER OF PLANNING AS WELL AS MINISTER OF INDUSTRY.

3. THE FOLLOWING HAVE LOST THEIR POSTS :

JAWAD HASHIM (MINISTER OF PLANNING, LPR 53)

AMIN ABDUL KARIM (MINISTER OF FINANCE., LPR 28)

NAZAR AL TABAQCHALI (MINISTER OF STATE)

NEHAD AL FAKHRI (MINISTER OF TRANSPORT).

FCO PLEASE PASS SAVING TO AMMAN BEIRUT DAMASCUS CAIRO AND JEDDA.

GRAHAM

[REPEATED AS REQUESTED]

FCO | WH

DISTRIBUTION

ME D

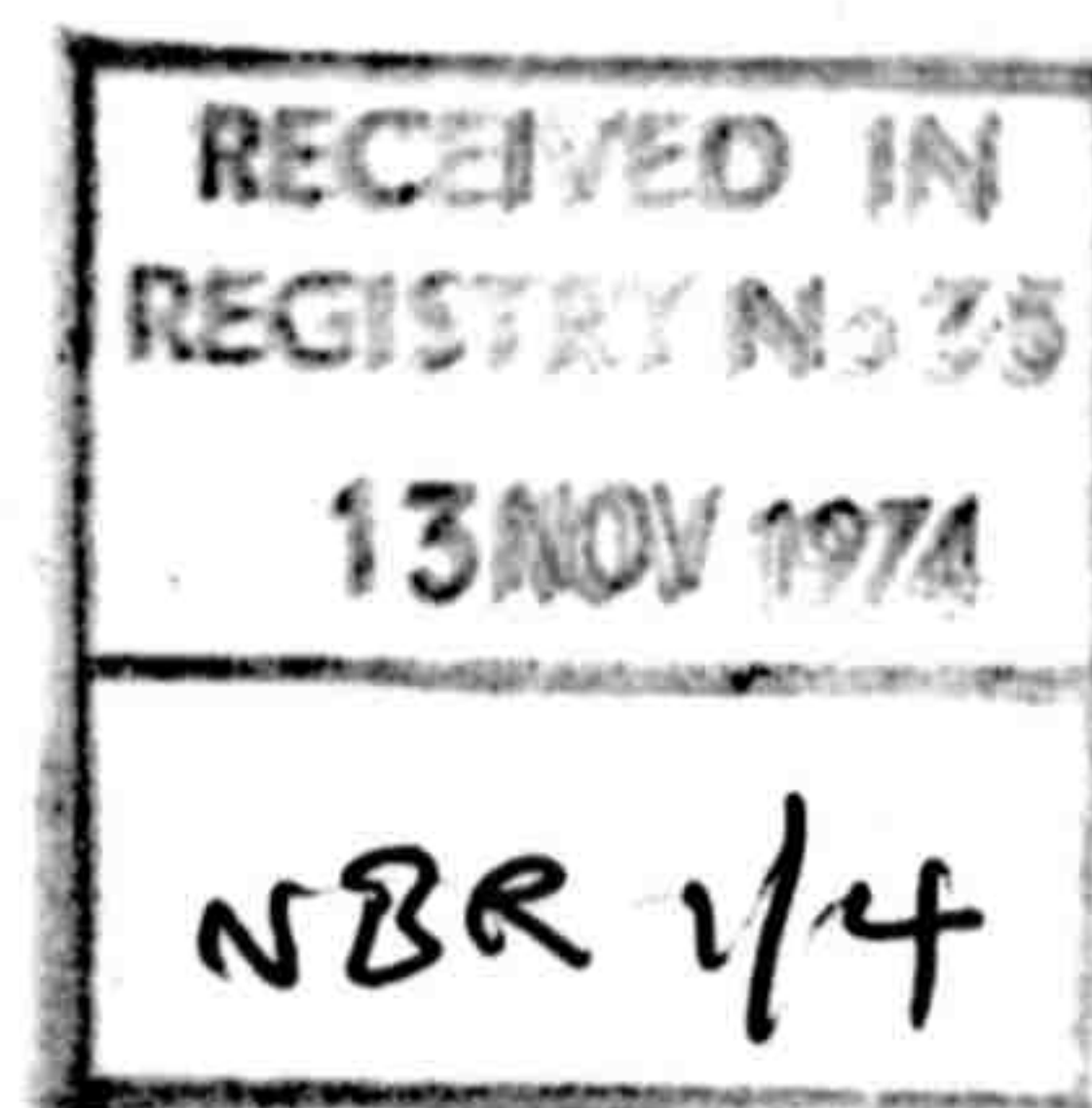
CONFIDENTIAL

GRS 120/3

CYPHER CAT A

FM BAGHDAD 121050Z NOV 1974

CONFIDENTIAL



TOP COPY

20/11
to/weeks
noted 4/12
pa

1974

TO ROUTINE FCO TELNO 419 OF 12 NOVEMBER INFO ROUTINE KUWAIT
AND TEHERAN SAVING BEIRUT DAMASCUS JEDDA CAIRO AND AMMAN.

MIPT. ⁽²⁸⁾ IRAQI MINISTRIAL CHANGES.

1. IN THIS VERY SECRETIVE SYSTEM THE FULL SIGNIFICANCE OF THESE CHANGES IS NOT IMMEDIATELY APPARENT. I WILL TAKE SOUNDINGS AND WRITE IN DUE COURSE. CLEARLY A SUCCESSOR TO SHADHIL TAQA AS FOREIGN MINISTER HAD TO BE FOUND AND THE APPOINTMENT OF SAADOUN HAMMADI IS UNLIKELY TO PRESAGE ANY CHANGE IN FOREIGN POLICY. IPC KNOW HIM WELL. HE SPEAKS GOOD ENGLISH AND HAS THE REPUTATION OF BEING AN ABLE FUNCTIONARY WHO HAS CARRIED OUT COMPETENTLY THE IRAQ GOVERNMENT'S OIL POLICY IN THE FORMULATION OF WHICH HE PROBABLY HAD LITTLE HAND. AS MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS HE CAN BE EXPECTED TO CONTINUE TO REFLECT THE VIEWS AND POLICIES OF THE VICE-PRESIDENT SADDAM HUSSEIN.

FCO PLEASE PASS SAVING TO BEIRUT DAMASCUS JEDDA CAIRO AND AMMAN.

GRAHAM [REPEATED AS REQUESTED]

DEPARTMENTAL DISTRIBUTION

M E D
N E N A D
E N E R G Y D
G I P D
N E W S D

CONFIDENTIAL

RESTRICTED

30

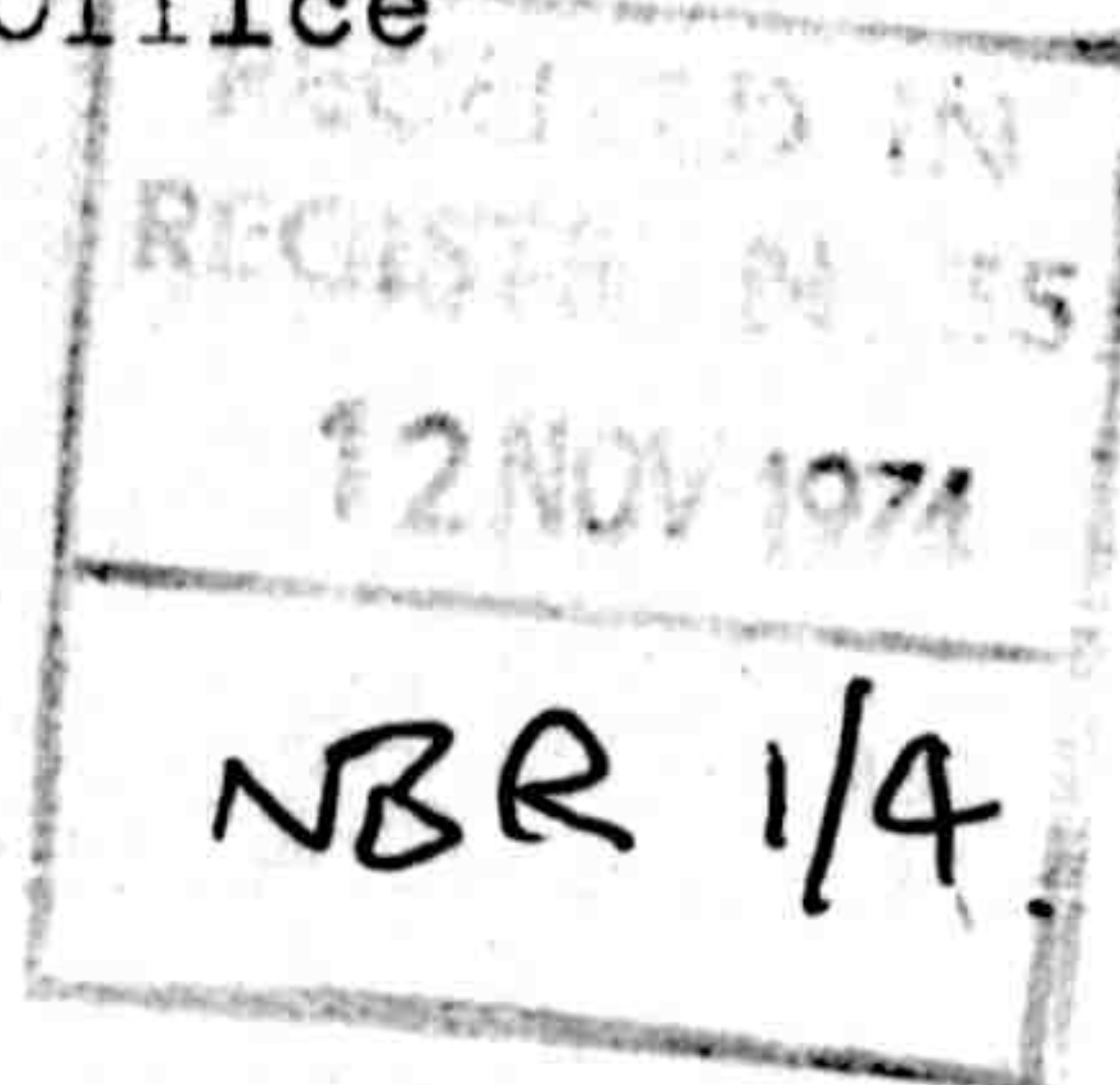


BRITISH EMBASSY

BAGHDAD

4 November 1974

G S Burton Esq
Middle East Department
Foreign and Commonwealth Office
LONDON



Rand
R 12/11

copy: W B Berry
HRD 12/11

Dear Graham.

THE LAWYERS' CONFERENCE

1. ⁽²⁴⁾ The Lawyers' Conference, about which I wrote to you on 29 October, ended on 29 October after agreement on some extremely wide-ranging resolutions.
2. These included predictable ones about the occupied territories, the PLO, and oil, and also expressed solidarity with people as diverse as the masses of Spanish Sahara, Eritrea, Portugese Africa, South Korea, Vietnam and Cyprus. Also, a gesture was made to the newest member of the Arab League by a resolution which upheld the "right of the people of Somalia to recover their occupied territories from the clutches of Ethiopia".
3. There were three more surprising points. One was a call for freedom of newspapers which should be liable to suspension only by court order; another was an expression of concern over acts of torture carried out "in so many Arab countries"; and the third was a resolution that political asylum should be available to anyone seeking it.

Yours ever,

K D Temple

RESTRICTED

UNCLASSIFIED

31



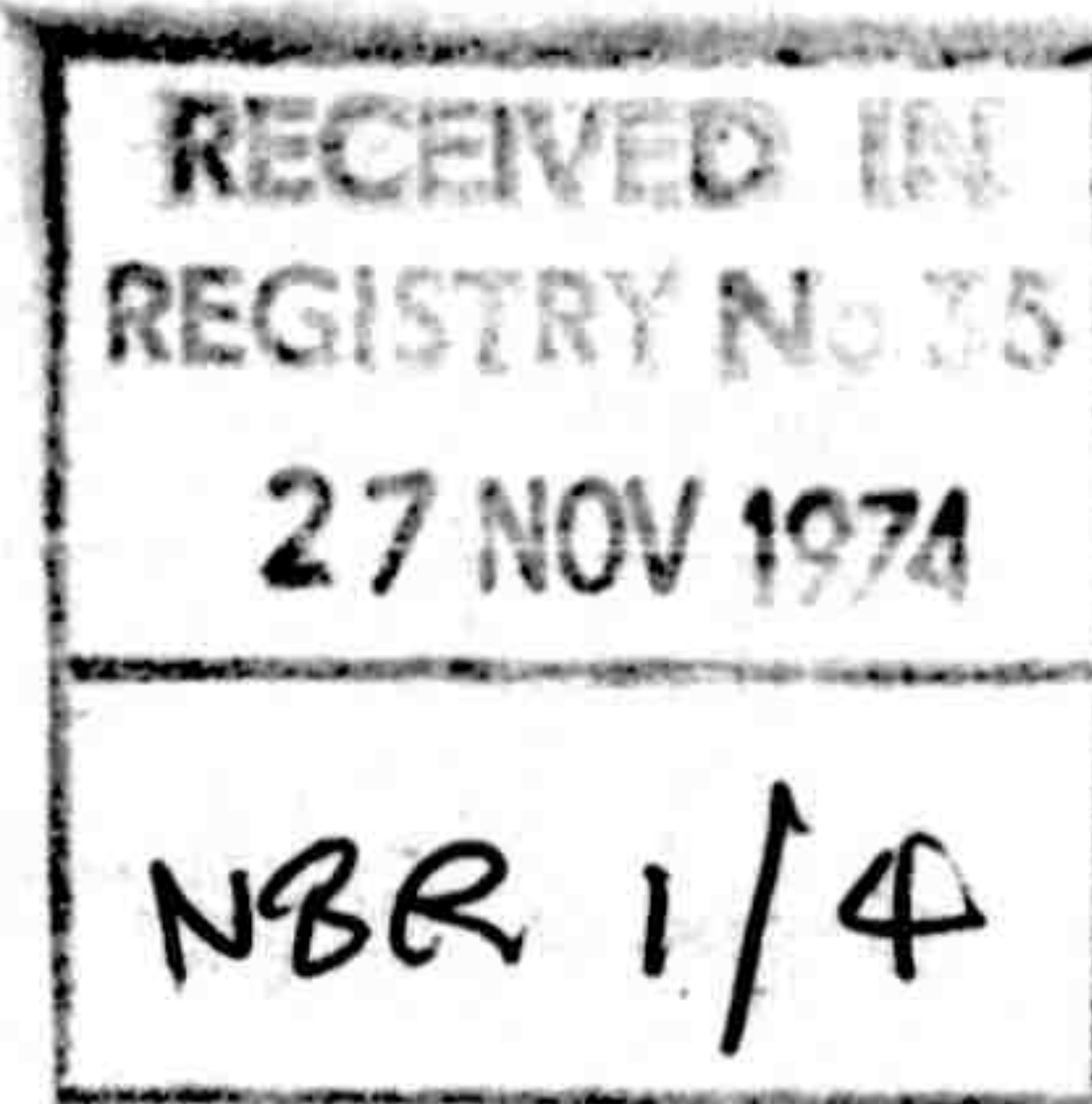
BRITISH EMBASSY

BAGHDAD

23 November 1974

G S Burton Esq
Middle East Department
Foreign and Commonwealth Office
LONDON

cc Research D
27/11 27/11
pa



See below.

RATIFICATIONS

1. I have to report that, by Law No.127 of 1974, the RCC ratified the protocol for trade exchange between the Governments of the Republic of Iraq and the USSR, which was signed in Baghdad on 25 June 1974. This Law was published in the official gazette of 30 September.
2. In the gazette of 2 October, the ratification was announced, by Law No.132 of 1974, of the Agreement for Scientific and Technical Co-operation in the Administration of Waters between the Ministry of Irrigation and the Hungarian National Committee for Waters, signed at Baghdad on 26 April 1974.

Yours ever,

K D Temple

cc: Research Department, FCO



CONFIDENTIAL

hand, the list as published by the Iraqi News Agency (INA) shows the President himself as Minister of Defence (there has been some doubt about this recently) and al Jazrawi, who has an Army background, has maintained his position and moved up the pecking order a bit, coming out as third immediately after Izzat al Duri (Interior). It is however perhaps worth reporting that it is fairly widely believed, amongst the Corps at least, that changes in the Army command will follow, with the replacement of the Chief of the General Staff and one or two other senior officers by men closer to Saddam Hussain. If this is true it suggests considerable confidence in Saddam Hussain that he has the Army under control. Clearly in any successful coup those in power are taken by surprise but these ministerial moves suggest that Saddam Hussain does not take seriously the reports of disaffection in the Army.

5. More generally, the new Ministerial list contains two Shias and a Christian (Tariq Aziz) with a fair sprinkling of people drawn from other parts of the country besides Baghdad and Tikrit. Communist participation has not changed. Despite the very friendly noises made by the Ba'ath about the USSR on the occasion of the 57th Anniversary of the October Revolution, Soviet influence by means of the Iraq Communist Party does not seem to be increasing.

6. I enclose a list of the new Government as published by INA. I am not sure that the order in which the names appear has much significance, if only because that in which they appear in the list circulated by the MFA is quite different. But in both lists the five new-comers (Tayeh Abdul Karim, Na'im Haddad, Ghanim Abdul Jalil, Mohammad Mahjoub and Tariq Aziz) some of whose Ministries in the last Government appear to have come lower down the order of batting, occupy prominent positions. But as I have pointed out, they are all members of the Regional Leadership.

7. It is perhaps surprising to see some of the Ministers of State fairly high in the INA list (in the MFA version they are all firmly at the bottom), but Hisham al Shawi (who was you remember Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs before Hammadi's appointment) told me the other evening that Ministers of State were directly responsible to the President, and he himself had not yet been allocated a specific function. He seemed to be implying that his new position was at least as grand as his old - but he could be biased! Most people certainly regard his move as a demotion.

8. This has been the first reshuffle since March, when 5 pro-Barzani Kurds were replaced by Kurds sympathetic to the regime, and is the largest there has been for some time. But the role of Ministers in the Iraqi political system should not be given too much importance; it remains true that they, particularly

/the

CONFIDENTIAL



CONFIDENTIAL

the technocrats, such as the new Ministers of Agriculture, Finance and Justice, function mainly as Chief Executives. The "Cabinet", in the British sense of the main policy-forming group, is the Revolutionary Command Council, with committees chaired by the members of the Council, e.g. a new Higher Agricultural Committee chaired by Izzat al Duri (who thus remains in charge of agriculture despite his move to the Ministry of the Interior), or the Planning Committee under Saddam Hussain, conducting policy in various specialised fields. Second in importance to this body, and some here say overtaking it, is the Regional Leadership, of which all the members of the RCC are also members, with the significant exception of Saadoun Ghaidan, the soldier.

9. I enclose notes on the new Ministers as published by the INA.

Yours ever
JAG

J A N Graham

Copied to:

Chancery, Tehran
" Kuwait
" Beirut

CONFIDENTIAL

President Ahmed Hasan al-Bakr	- Minister of Defence
Izzat al-Douri	- Minister of Interior
Izzat Mustafa	- Minister of Health
Taha al-Jezrawi	- Minister of Industry, and Acting Minister of Planning
Tayeh Abdul Karim	- Minister of Oil and Minerals
Naeem Haddad	- Minister of Youth
Ghanim Abdul Jalil	- Minister of Higher Education and Scientific Research
Mohammad Mahjoub	- Minister of Education
Saadun Ghaidan	- Minister of Communications
Hikmat al-Azzawi	- Minister of Economy
Saadun Hammadi	- Minister of Foreign Affairs
Tariq Aziz	- Minister of Information
Dr Ahmed Abdul Sattar al-Jewari	- Minister of State
Dr Rasheed al-Refaie	- Minister of Works and Housing
Hamed al-Jebouri	- Minister of State
Adnan Ayoub Sabri	- Minister of Transport
Husham Husham al-Shawi	- Minister of State
Dr Saadi Ibrahim	- Minister of Finance
Dr Hasan Fahmi Juma'a	- Minister of Agriculture and Agrarian Reform
Dr Mundhir al-Shawi	- Minister of Justice
Anwar Abdul Qadir al-Hadithi	- Minister of Labour and Social Affairs
Aziz Sharif	- Minister of State
Abdulla al-Khudhair	- Minister of State
Abdul Sattar Tahir Sharif	- Minister of Municipalities
Amir Abdulla	- Minister of State
Mukarram al-Talabani	- Minister of Irrigation
Aziz Rasheed Aqrabi	- Minister of State
Obaidulla Mustafa al-Barzani	- Minister of State
Abdulla Ismail Ahmed	- Minister of State
Hamid Al Tibouri	Liason - Minister for the Self Rule area.

TAYEH ABDUL KARIM - MINISTER OF OIL AND MINERALS

Born in Ana Qada', Al-Anbar Governorate, West Iraq, in 1933. Graduated from the Primary Teachers Institute in 1951. Worked as a teacher up to 1954. Joined the Arab Ba'ath Socialist Party (ABSP) in 1950. He was detained several times by the old regimes. Got his B.A. in English at the College of Arts in 1959. Taught at secondary schools up to 1963. After the Ramadhan 14 Revolution, appointed Deputy Governor in Basra, South Iraq. Got his law degree from Al-Mustanssiriyyah University in 1968/69. After the July 17 Revolution in 1968, he was appointed Director General at the Revolutionary Command Council, and in 1969 appointed Ambassador to the Sudan. In 1970, he was appointed Under-Secretary of the Ministry of Education. In January 1974, he was elected ABSP Regional Leadership member. On 11 November 1974, he became Minister of Oil and Minerals.

NAEEM HADDAD - MINISTER OF YOUTH

Born in Soof al-Sheyekh Qada, De Qar Governorate, South Iraq, in 1933. Graduated from the Ba'qoba Primary Teachers Institute in 1955. Joined the ABSP in the fifties. After the November 18 counter-revolution in 1963, he was dismissed from civil service and detained in the Ba'qoba jail. In January 1970, he was appointed Governor of Diala, East Iraq. In December 1970, he was elected ABSP Regional Leadership member. He became Youth Minister on 11 November 1974.

MOHAMMED MAHJOUB - MINISTER OF EDUCATION

Born in Al-Dor district, north of Baghdad. Engaged in politics in the national and pan-Arab fields since 1954 and, because of his political activity, he was detained several times by old regimes. In 1961, he was placed under house arrest until the outbreak of the Ramadhan 14 Revolution. After the 1963 November counter-revolution, he was also detained several times. Got his B.A. in politics and worked in education for several years.

After the July 17 Revolution, he worked at one of the RCC Bureaux and was then appointed Governor of Basra, South Iraq, and Wasit, East Iraq. In August 1972, he was transferred to Governorship of Diala. In January 1974, he was elected ABSP Regional Leadership member, and on 11 November 1974 he was appointed Minister of Education.

TARIQ AZIZ - MINISTER OF INFORMATION

Born in Mosul, North Iraq in 1936. Graduated from the College of Arts - English Department. Worked as Editor at Al-Jumhuriya newspaper which was published soon after the July 14 Revolution of 1958. After Ramadhan 14 Revolution, took up position of Chief Editor of Al-Jamaheer newspaper, 1963. Mr Aziz also worked in the press of the Arab Ba'ath Socialist Party in Syria prior to the February 22 setback (1966).

Assumed position of Chief Editor of Al-Thawra newspaper, organ of the Arab Ba'ath Socialist Party, for about 5 years. In April 1972, became member of the General Affairs Bureau under the Revolutionary Command Council (RCC) besides his duties at Al-Thawra newspaper. Assumed position of Acting Director of the National Information Bureau, and on 12 January 1974, elected candidate member to the ABSP Regional Leadership. On 11 November 1974, designated Minister of Information.

DR HASSAN FHAMI JUMA'A - MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE AND AGRARIAN REFORM

Born in Kut, East Iraq, on 15 May 1937. Graduated from the Agricultural College in 1958. Obtained his PH.D. degree in agriculture in the United States and became a Professor at the Agricultural College of Baghdad. In 1968, appointed Dean of the Veterinary College and later Dean of the College of Agriculture and Veterinary Medicine. In 1970 appointed Director General of Agricultural Education, and in 1971 Dean of the College of Agriculture and Forestry, Mosul University. Last position held before his Ministerial appointment was Dean of the College of Agriculture in Baghdad. On 11 November 1974, designated Minister of Agriculture and Agrarian Reform.

DR MUNDHIR AL-SHAWI - MINISTER OF JUSTICE

Born in Baghdad on 21 December 1928. Graduated from the Law College in 1951. Obtained Ph.D. degree in political sciences from France in 1956. Appointed Professor at the Law College in 1961 and became Head of the Law and Politics Department of the College up to 1973. Author of several books and articles on law and legal affairs. Designated Minister of Justice on 11 November 1974.

DR SAADI IBRAHIM - MINISTER OF FINANCE

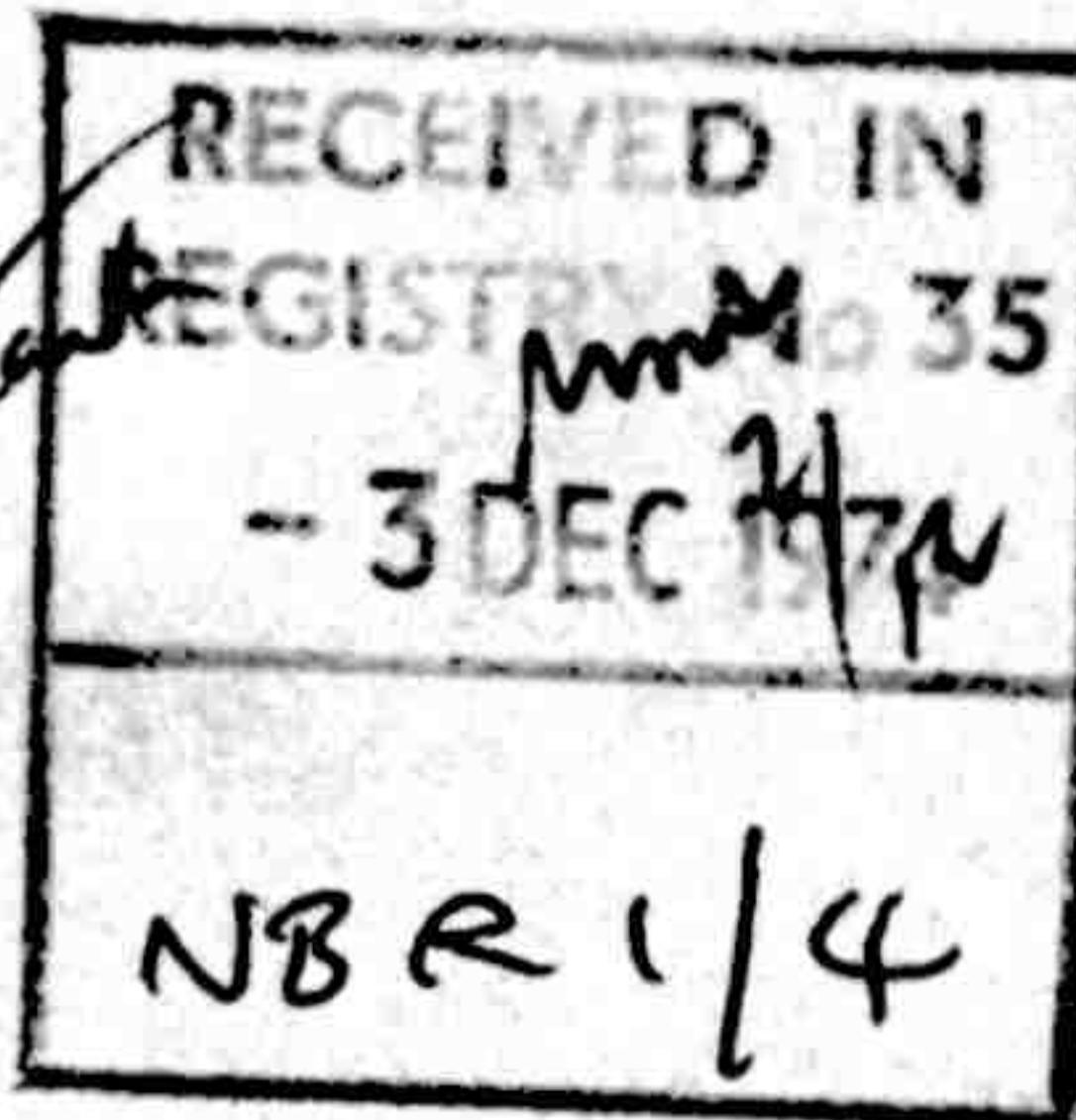
Born in Baghdad in 1922. Graduated from the Law College in 1945 and obtained his Ph.D. from the Paris University in 1953. Appointed Professor of Economics and Finance at the College of Law in 1953 and up to 1959. Author of several books on financial and economic affairs, and in 1959 appointed Director General of the Budget, Ministry of Finance. Early in 1969 appointed Under-Secretary of the Ministry of Finance. Participated in several Arab and International Economic Conferences. In 1974 appointed Minister of Finance.

GHANIM ABDUL JALIL - MINISTER OF HIGHER EDUCATION AND SCIENTIFIC
RESEARCH

Born in Baghdad in 1938. Graduated from the College of Law and Politics in 1964/65. Joined the struggle of the Arab Ba'ath Socialist Party in 1953 and was suspended from official jobs twice, in 1959 and 1954. Dismissed from official service twice in 1960 and 1964, and sent to prison several times. In 1969 appointed Governor of Kirkuk, and in 1971 transferred to the position of Governor of Diyala. In 1971 appointed Director General of the Iraqi Ports Administration, and in 1972 appointed Director General at the Revolutionary Command Council (RCC). In 1974, appointed Head of the Office of the Vice-Chairman of the RCC, and in 1974 elected member for the ABSP Regional Leadership. Designated Minister of Higher Education and Scientific Research in 1974.

SECRET

(34)



BRITISH EMBASSY
BAGHDAD

28 November 1974

M S Weir Esq CMG
Assistant Under-Secretary of State
F C O

M. Butler
NB para 3 for LPR

My dear Michael,

*in Baghdad
for amend LPR*

2/12

*to 2/4
Cabinet Office
3/11*

THE PRESIDENT'S HEALTH

1. The President has clearly not been at all well recently, in fact ever since the death of his wife. There are three Ambassadors waiting to present their credentials: the West German, the Indian and the Bangladesh. All have been told that the President is indisposed, but have been promised appointments next week. Whether the indisposition is due to grief or something more serious is not clear: my French colleague has a report that the President has been in an oxygen tent, but is now on the mend. Bakr was undoubtedly out and about before his wife's death.
2. The death of Mrs Bakr of cancer has led us to speculate here whether the visit of the cancer specialist in September was connected with her illness rather than with the President's. It has been confirmed to me by a British doctor working out here that the President has an advanced degree of diabetes. But the French Ambassador, again, believes that Bakr was indeed seen by the cancer specialist, since, his wife's cancer having been allowed to develop too long, he wanted to have a check-up in plenty of time himself.
3. Finally, more in the field of gossip, Cerles tells me that according to his information, the late Mrs Bakr was the President's first, and favourite, wife, but that they had no children. Bakr had not wanted to divorce her but had taken a second wife, still alive, by whom he has a large family, one of whom is a student in Britain. We have just given visas to Haitham Ahmed Hassan al Bakr, aged 27, and his wife, Ilham Kharalla al Nasiri, aged 17, the daughter of Saddam Hussein's uncle. If he is the son of this second marriage, the arrangement must be of very long standing. I note that none of this appears in the Personalities Report.

*Yours ever
JAG*

J A N Graham

SECRET

CONFIDENTIAL

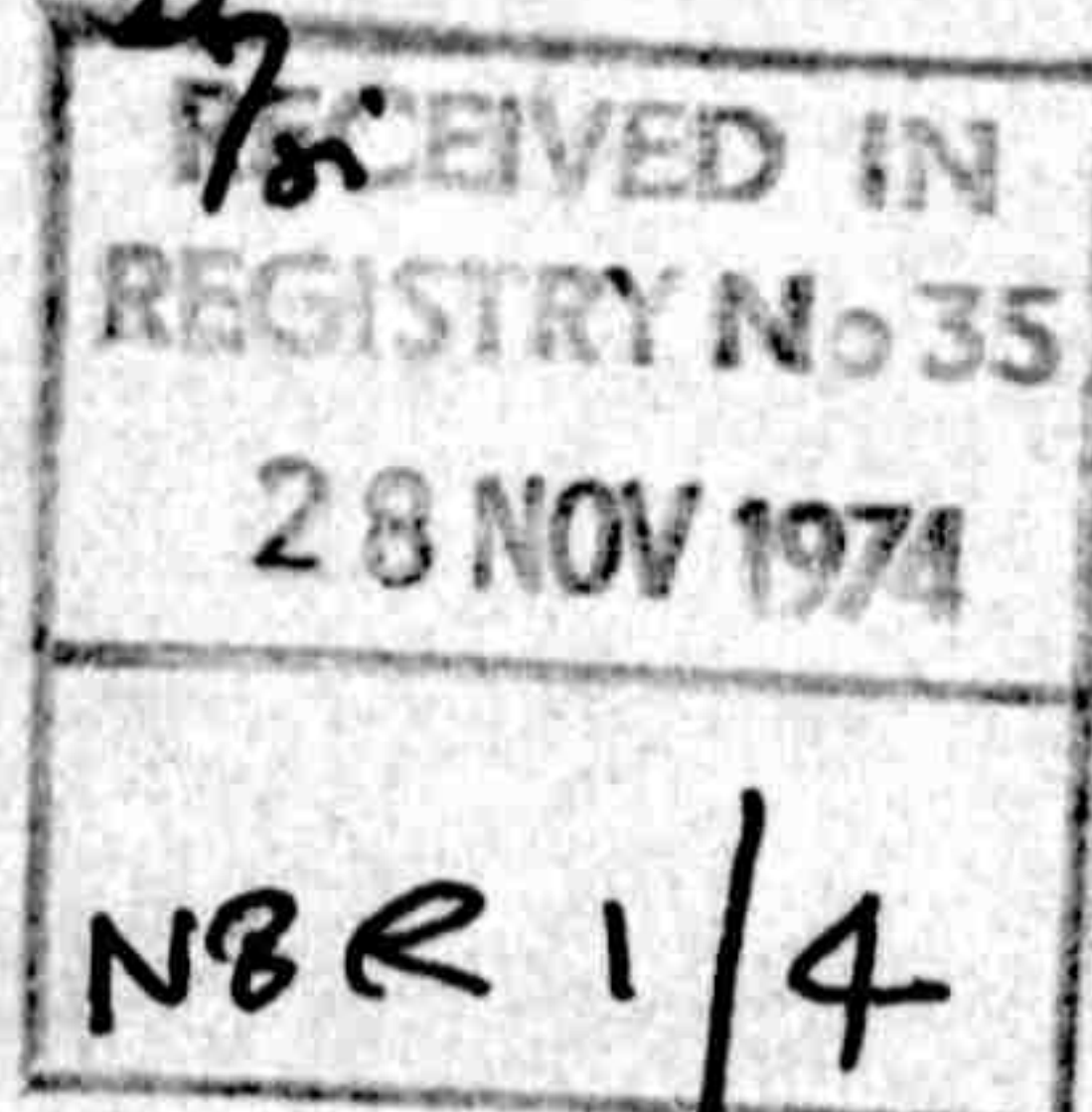


BRITISH EMBASSY

BAGHDAD

20 November 1974

P R H Wright Esq
Middle East Department
F C O



Mr. Clark 27/11

Mr. Lindsay 27/11

Mr. Butcher 28/11

Copy 214
to Cabinet Office

Dear Patrick,

MINISTERIAL CHANGES

1. In my telegrams 418 and 419 of 12 November (not to all), I reported the recent Ministerial changes and undertook to let you have my comments on them. Since this Government, individually and collectively, is more secretive than most and given the reluctance of most Iraqis in present-day Iraq to discuss with foreigners any matter of political significance, interpretation of the real significance of political events is more akin to the sort of entrail-gazing that is necessary in the Communist world than one is accustomed to in the Arab world. That said, the following comments have, at least, the merit of being shared by those of my colleagues who can claim some expertise on the subject.

2. Of the 8 new Ministers, 3 are "technocrats". These are Al Shawi (Justice), Juma'a (Agriculture), and Sa'adi Ibrahim (Finance). 5 of the 8 are members of the Regional Leadership - Abdul Karim (Oil), Haddad (Youth), Abdul Jalil (Higher Education), Tariq Aziz (Information) and Mahjoub (Education) but the last two can also claim to be professionals in other fields. Each of these five was also a member of one or other of the Revolutionary Command Council Bureaux and will presumably continue to be so.

3. The moves must be seen to represent a considerable strengthening of the Ba'ath Party hold over the machinery of Government, or, to put it another way, a closer identification of Party and Government. On the premise that Saddam Hussain calls the odds in the Party, therefore, the result is a consolidation of Saddam Hussain's position, though he remains without a formal position in the machinery of government, except that of Vice-President of the RCC (but not Vice-President of the Republic).

4. The Army would seem to have emerged with marginally less influence than heretofore, mainly because Saadoun Ghaidan has been moved from the Ministry of the Interior to that of Communications, which must be seen as demotion. On the other

/hand

CONFIDENTIAL

Mr Giddens

Mr Temple

Mr Lomas

MINISTER OF INTERIOR

1. I paid my first call this morning on Izzat al Douri, the new Minister of the Interior. He remains Chairman of the Higher Agricultural Committee and very much involved in agricultural affairs. It was in the latter capacity that he saw the COMET Mission 2 days ago.
2. Izzat al Douri is a pig-faced, red haired Iraqi, rather older than I had expected to look at. He appears to speak no English though he claims to have visited England on 3 or 4 occasions in the course of which he made visits out of London to the homes of "fellahin".
3. We discussed agriculture in general and the scale of Iraq's development projects in this field. Sd Izzat said that he was very keen to have British firms working on these and had gone out of his way in the past to favour them e.g. by keeping open a tender after companies from other countries had put in their bids to enable a British firm, which came late into the field, to make a bid. Moreover, he had given the COMET Mission details of Iraq's future plans, details which had not been disclosed to other countries. Taking up a point that the COMET Mission had been making, I said that in the case of many of these very complicated and complex projects, the Iraqis might find they got better value for money, and quicker, if they picked a firm and worked with it as a partner from the very start. Sd Izzat said that they evaluated each project and adopted this method if it seemed appropriate. (There is of course a risk that it will not be a British firm that is picked but the high cost of preparing bids under the present open tender system deters many companies and we might at least expect to get a share of the work under the direct invitation method.)
4. Expanding on the theme, Sd Izzat said that he welcomed me as the first British Ambassador after the restoration of relations. Ambassadors "made history" and had a heavy responsibility since the future of the world lay in co-operation between peoples. It was not for the Iraq Government to define British interests but he believed that it was an interest of ours to co-operate with the Arab World. The Iraq Government believed, for their part, that trading relations and political relations should be kept separate. In the latter field we should no doubt have disputes but in the former we could continue to work together.
5. I echoed the Minister's remarks and added only that, as I said to the President when I presented my credentials, I hoped that if we did have disputes in the political field, we would talk them over together in slow time
/rather

CONFIDENTIAL

rather than that I should find myself faced with a quick decision. Sd Izzat laughed.

6. I raised the ICL matter on which I am minuting separately and the interview ended with me saying that I would not wish to bother the Minister in future unless I had something important to say to him and he assuring me that his door was open at any time to talk about matters in the spirit of the present discussion.

J A N Graham

26 November 1974

**Copied to:
MED, FCO**

CONFIDENTIAL



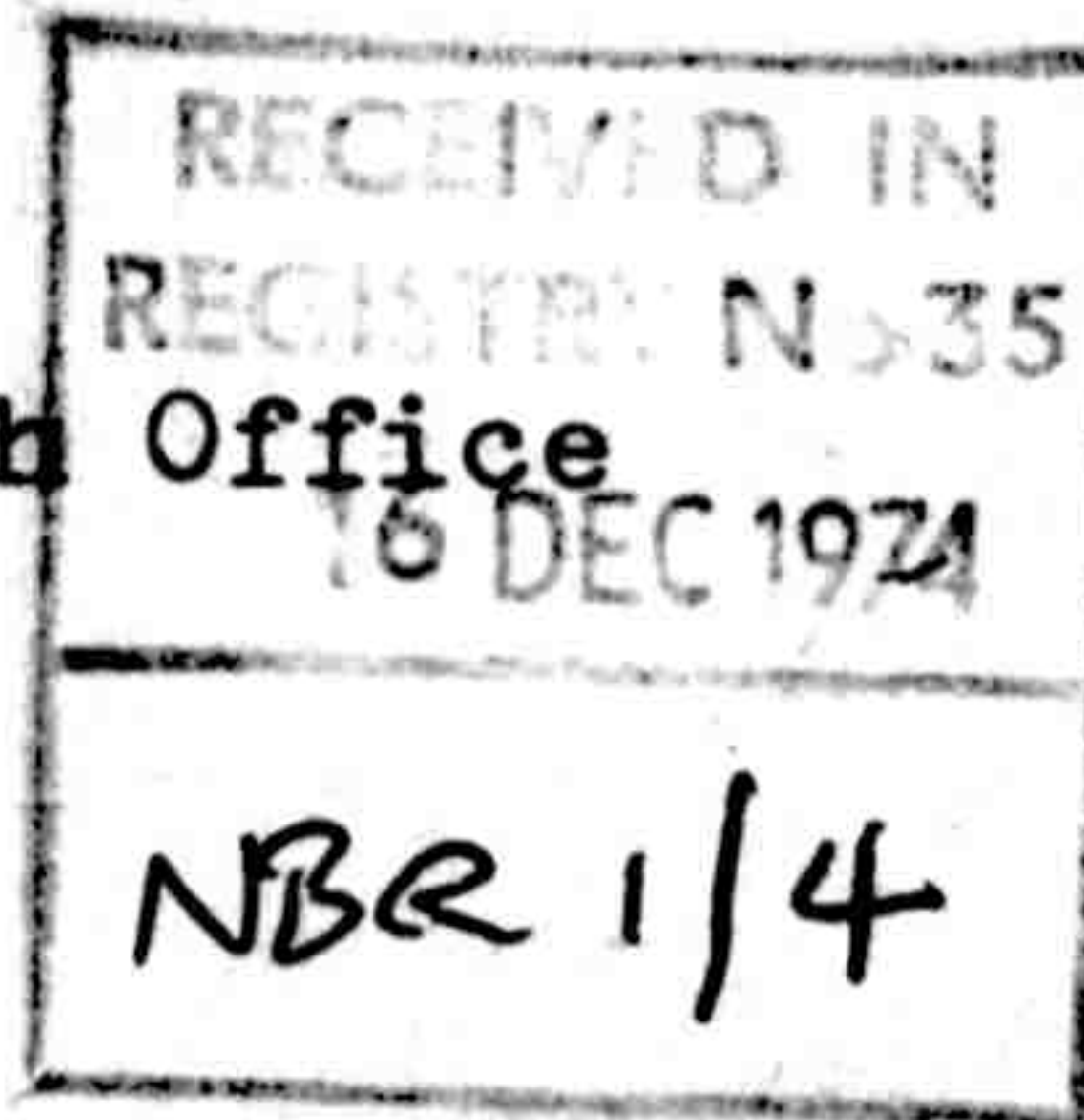
BRITISH EMBASSY

BAGHDAD

1/2

11 December 1974

G S Burton Esq
Middle East Department
Foreign and Commonwealth Office
LONDON



*Mr Bigsby - to original on
origin copy
16/XII*

*SB 16/12
fa*

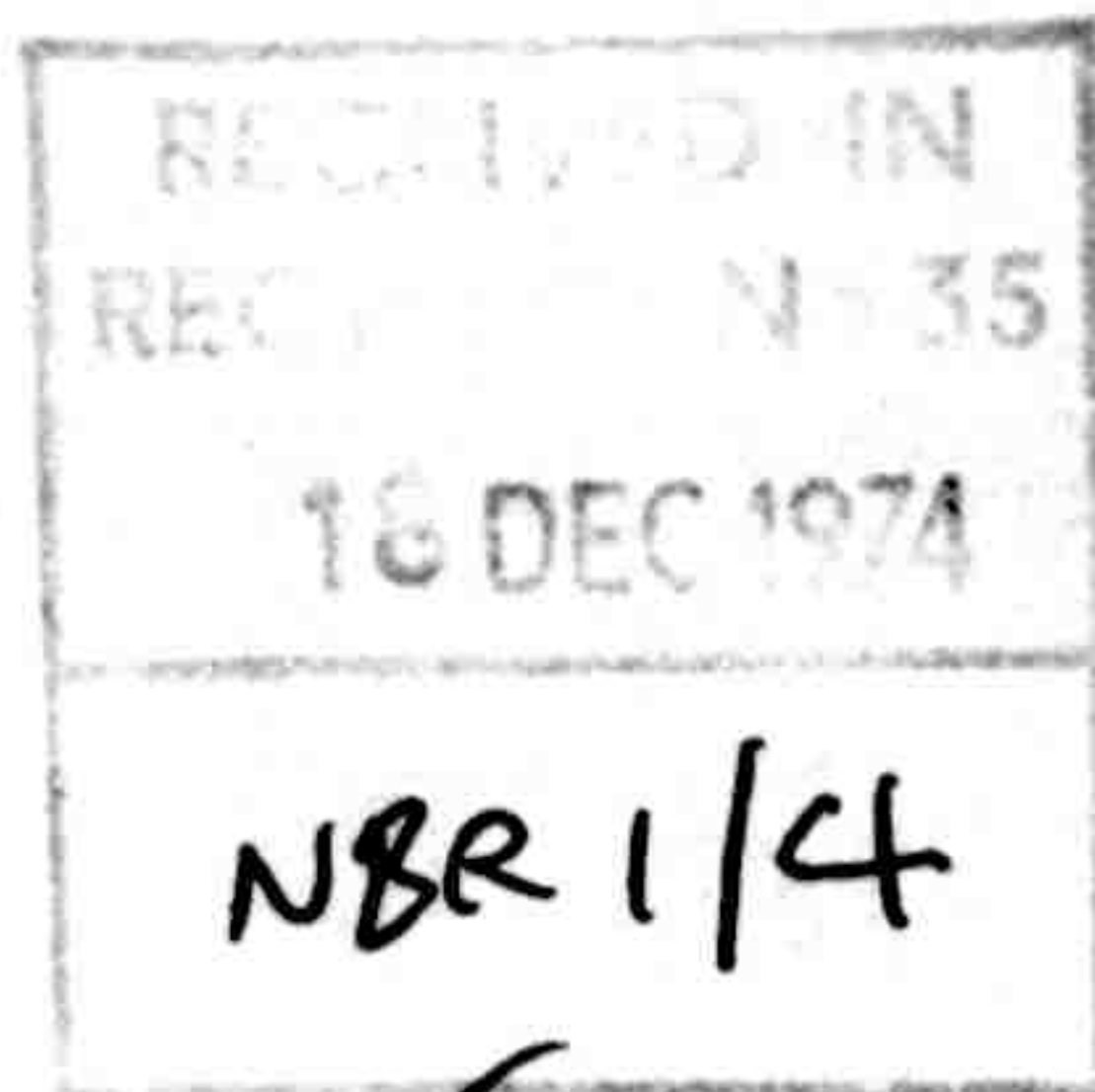
See below.

KURDISTAN LIAISON MINISTER

1. A Republican Decree has been issued providing for the appointment of Hamid al Jibouri (who, you will recall, was down-graded from Minister of Information to Minister of State in the recent Ministerial reshuffle) as Liaison Minister for the Self Rule Area, as specified under Article 18 of the Self Rule Law, No.33 of 1974. By this Law, the Liaison Minister shall "establish co-ordination between the activities exercised in the Area by each of the central authority and Self Rule bodies" and shall also be entitled to attend the meetings of these bodies.

Yours ever,

K D Temple



BRITISH EMBASSY
BEIRUT

14 December 1974

1/8

G J B Williams Esq
NENAD

New Anon,

enter with gun of Unit. hwy/ 17/12

ALLEGED EXECUTION OF IRAQI INTELLECTUALS

Al Hayat published on 12 December unconfirmed reports by "travellers from Baghdad" that Iraqi authorities executed on 5 December five intellectuals and Moslem'ulema on charges of belonging to a banned Islamic political party. The bodies of the five had been returned to their families on 7 December. Their names were given as: Sheikh Aref Al Basri, from Baghdad; Sheikh Ezzedin Al Jazaeri, from Negef; Imad Eddin Al Tabrizi from Negef; Nouri Mohammad Hassan Tomeh, from Karbela; and Hussein Sayed Mohammad Kazem from Karbela. Several intellectual, political and religious figures had "mediated" at the Iraqi embassy in Beirut, presumably to prevent the executions.

2. Al Hayat is generally fairly Right Wing, pro-Saudi and anti Iraq.

Yours,

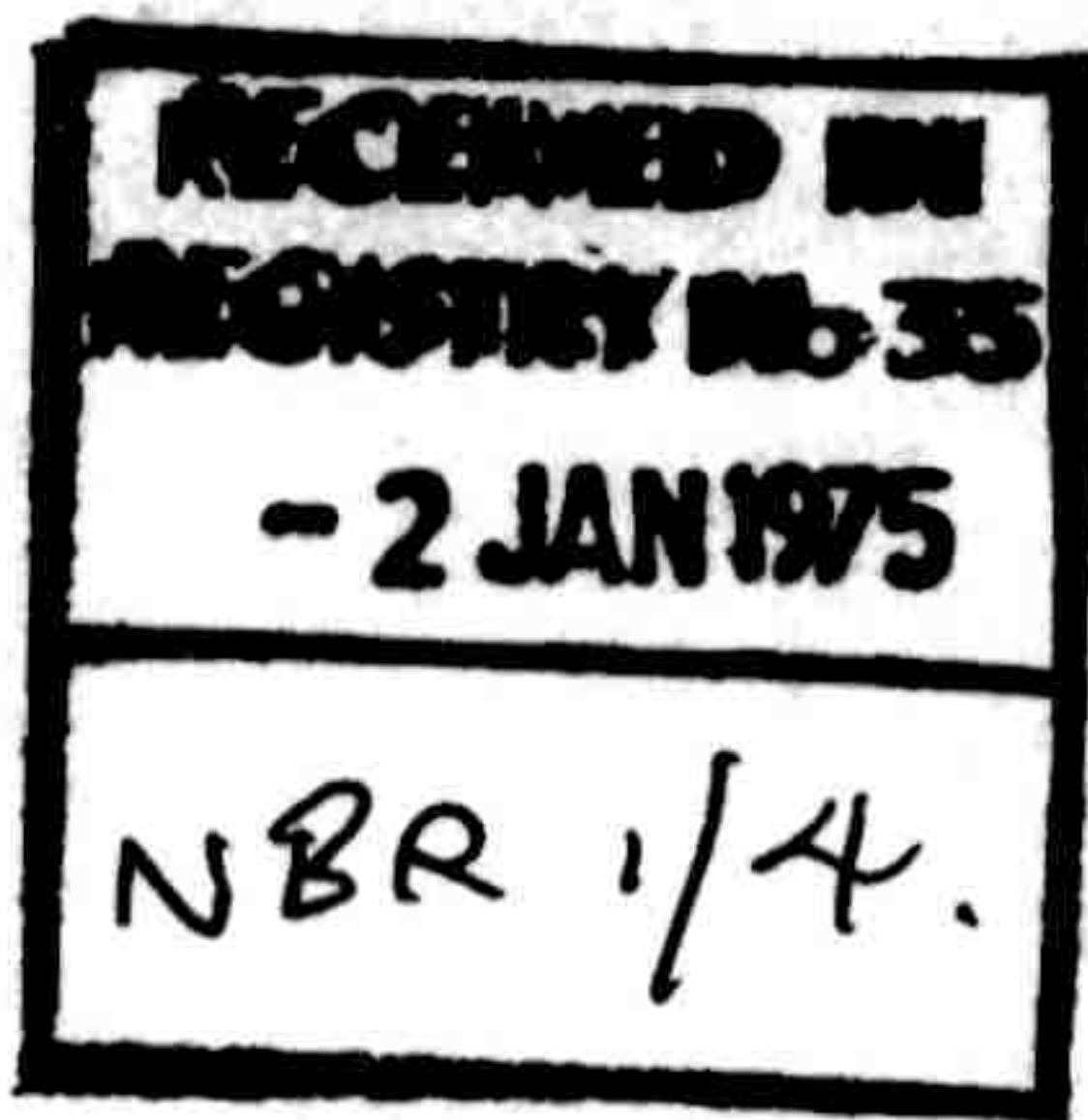
F Gallagher

F Gallagher

c.c. Baghdad

UNCLASSIFIED

(37)



BRITISH EMBASSY

BAGHDAD

29 December 1974

pa 31,
XII

G S Burton Esq
Middle East Department
Foreign and Commonwealth Office
LONDON

See Graham,

THE PRESIDENT'S HEALTH

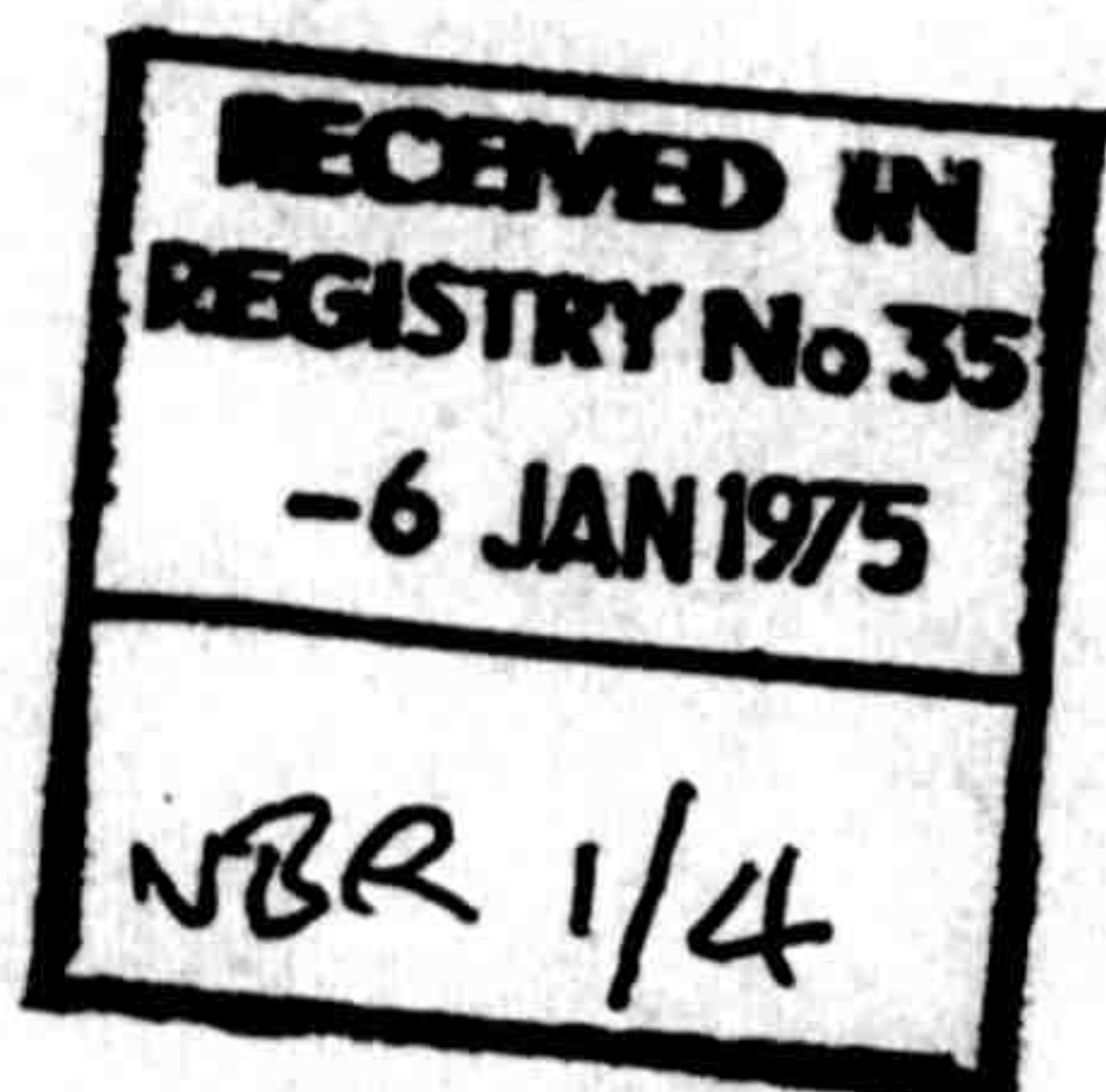
1. This remains the subject of speculation. It was reported in the Baghdad observer of 24 December that, on 23 December, the President received the Minister of Health (Izzat Mustafa) and the new Governor of Basra (Amir al-Khshali) and, for the first time in recent weeks, photographs were published. The inference is thus that this President's health is on the mend but it remains true that there are now no less than six Ambassadors awaiting appointments for the presentation of their credentials (the Federal Republic of Germany, Bangladesh, India, Cuba, Mauritania and Czechoslovakia).

pers eve
hcl

R G Giddens

RESTRICTED

(38)



BRITISH EMBASSY

BAGHDAD

19 December 1974

Not much to go on.

Ever

Li Burton 10/12/74

R 6/1

G S Burton Esq
Middle East Department
Foreign and Commonwealth Office
LONDON

She Inahan

HEALTH OF THE PRESIDENT

1. The state of President Bakr's health continues to excite speculation. The three Ambassadors awaiting appointments for the presentation of their Credentials (West Germany, Bangladesh and India) continue to kick their heels in Baghdad. It is interesting that no suggestion has been made that Saddam Hussein should receive the Credentials in the President's stead - this was done at least once before when the Austrian presented his Letters to the Vice Chairman because of the President's indisposition some 4 years ago. The reason perhaps is that to field the Vice Chairman would simply excite yet further speculation.

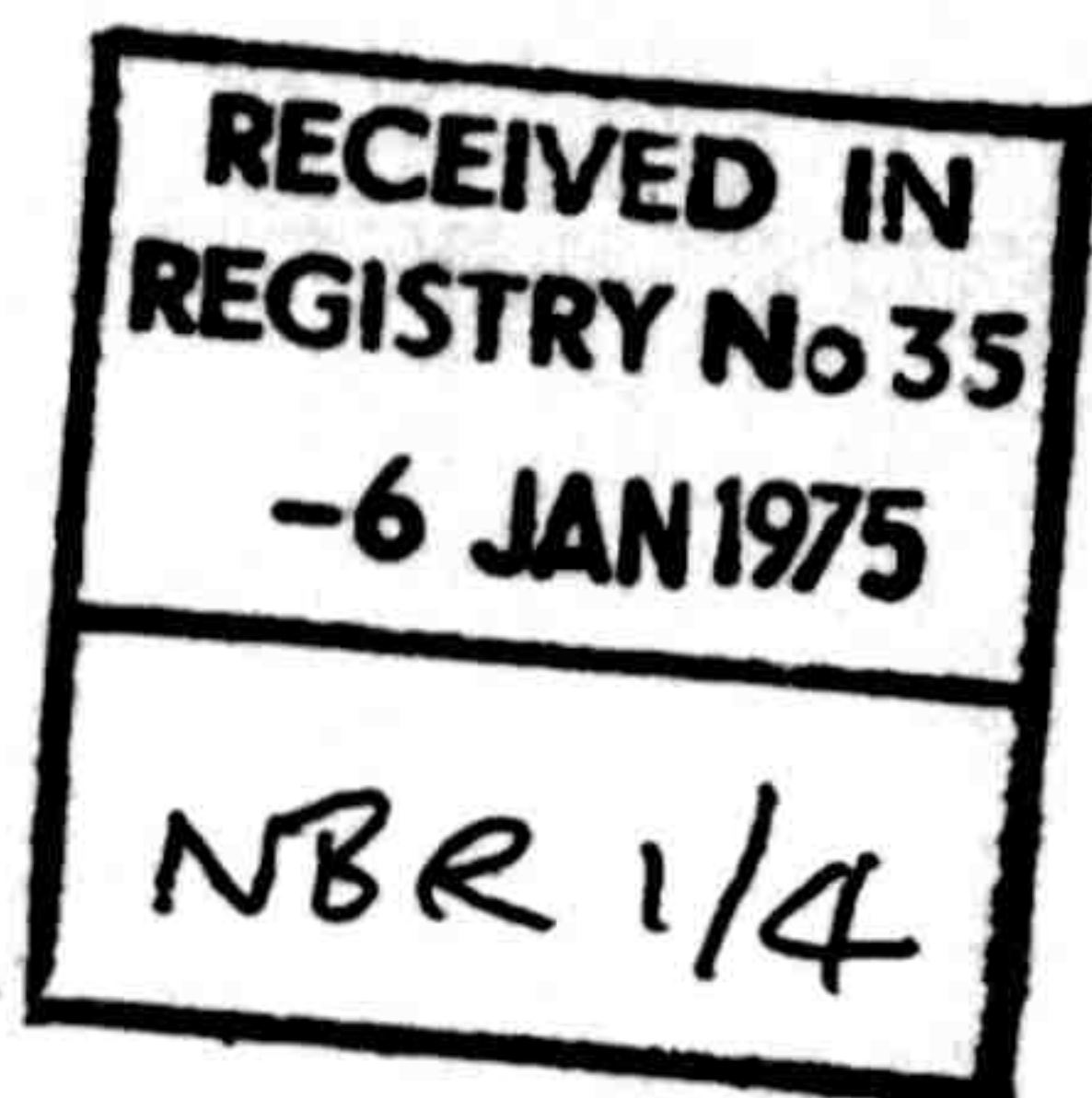
2. The recent speculation was given encouragement by the return of Saddam Hussein from Spain earlier than had generally been expected. Jamali told Ambassadors he was expected back on 16 December but, in the event, he appears to have returned in the early hours of the 14th. The Beirut "Daily Star" says that the Vice Chairman cut short his visit for health reasons, reporting that he developed an attack of lumbago during the private visit which was to follow the official visit. As far as one can judge from here, his private visit was certainly short. He is reported to have visited Granada and Toledo and one might have expected him to go elsewhere. It is of course assumed here that the return was connected with a worsening of President Bakr's condition, but we have not much evidence to suggest that this might be true.

3. Such evidence as we have comes from the Finnish Ambassador, who reports that a Finnish subject, who is a qualified physiotherapist, regularly treats both the President and Saddam Hussein - the latter for his lumbago. As to the President, the Finnish Ambassador reports that he has lost weight and that the advanced state of his diabetes has caused his health to deteriorate seriously.

Yours ever

R G Giddens

RESTRICTED



BRITISH EMBASSY

BAGHDAD

23 December 1974

1/1

G S Burton Esq
Middle East Department
Foreign and Commonwealth Office
LONDON

She Graham

Enver

Li Bow 1/1 v. see %

R26/1

FREEMASONS

1. You will have seen the piece written from Beirut by Joseph Fitchett in the Observer of 15 December about the trial of Freemasons. Correspondence on the subject rests with Ian McCluney's letter of 11 June to you about Ellis (who must be "the foreigner" referred to in the article).

2. Although (as is often the case in Baghdad) we have no hard facts, the article deserves some comment. Nothing has been published about the detention or trial of the Masons here, but gossip (on both the diplomatic and local nets) has been circulating for some months. We have heard that of the 100 or so charged (presumably for plotting against the state) 6 have been sentenced to death, some 50 released and some (probably the remainder) given varying terms of imprisonment. One local member of staff has said that a lawyer friend of his, who had been defending 3 of the charged, had expected all to be released, but the Public Prosecutor, late in the trial, had brought another charge with the aim of obtaining at least some convictions; if this is true, the conclusion to be drawn is that the regime wished to make an example of the Masons.

3. Two points in the article should be corrected. The first is that we know of no law published in October making "reactionary attitudes" a capital offence, although there were two laws issued at that time whose effect was to make economic sabotage and espionage punishable by death. The second point concerns Amnesty International, which is acknowledged by the Iraqis; you will recall that a delegate attended the Arab Lawyers' Conference in October (Temple's letters 1/1 of 29 and 30 October).

N.B. //

Just for
Shil
R G Giddens

cc: Capt. D Norbury
DI4, MOD



RECEIVED IN
REGISTRY No 35
-7 JAN 1975

BRITISH EMBASSY
BAGHDAD

NBR 1/4

23 December 1974

M S Weir Esq CMG
Assistant Under Secretary of State
Foreign and Commonwealth Office

My dear Michael,

SADDAM HUSSAIN

- 58-X
1. You may have seen the report in Giddens's letter to Burton of 19 December that Saddam Hussain has back-trouble. In fact, according to the Finnish Ambassador, his trouble is not lumbago (which was his original mistranslation), but a broken disc, the result of a fall at tennis, which pinches the sciatic nerve. The Head of Protocol Department also told Meg the other night at dinner that Saddam was suffering from a slipped disc, which seems close enough to be taken as confirmation.
 2. According to the Finnish Ambassador, the trouble is so acute that Saddam Hussain ought not to do any walking, but should take a long rest, flat on a hard board. The only alternative would be an operation, with a 90% certainty that he would be lame for life. I cannot vouch for this diagnosis, but if true it could be of considerable political importance.

Yours ever
JAG

J A N Graham

It could as H.M.A say be of considerable political importance. My impression is that the condition described above can be operated on (by St George Hospital) with a very much greater chance of walking. It would be worth having a word with the medical advisers. P.K.B. 1/1

CONFIDENTIAL

Health Of President Bakr And Saddam Hussein; Execution Of Intellectuals; List Of Iraqi Ministers; Conference Of Arab Lawyers; Death Of Shadhil Taqa. Political Situation In Iraq. 23 Dec. 1974. MS Middle East Online: Iraq, 1914-1974: Selected files from series AIR, CAB, CO, FCO, FO, PREM, T, WO, The National Archives, Kew, UK FCO 8/2310. Newspaper Cutting. The National Archives (Kew, United Kingdom). Archives Unbound, link.gale.com/apps/doc/SC5107498749/GDSC?u=webdemo&sid=bookmark-GDSC&xid=f58c9cc7&pg=1. Accessed 11 Apr. 2022.